THE CAPITAL IMAGE
Painters in Washington, 1800–1915

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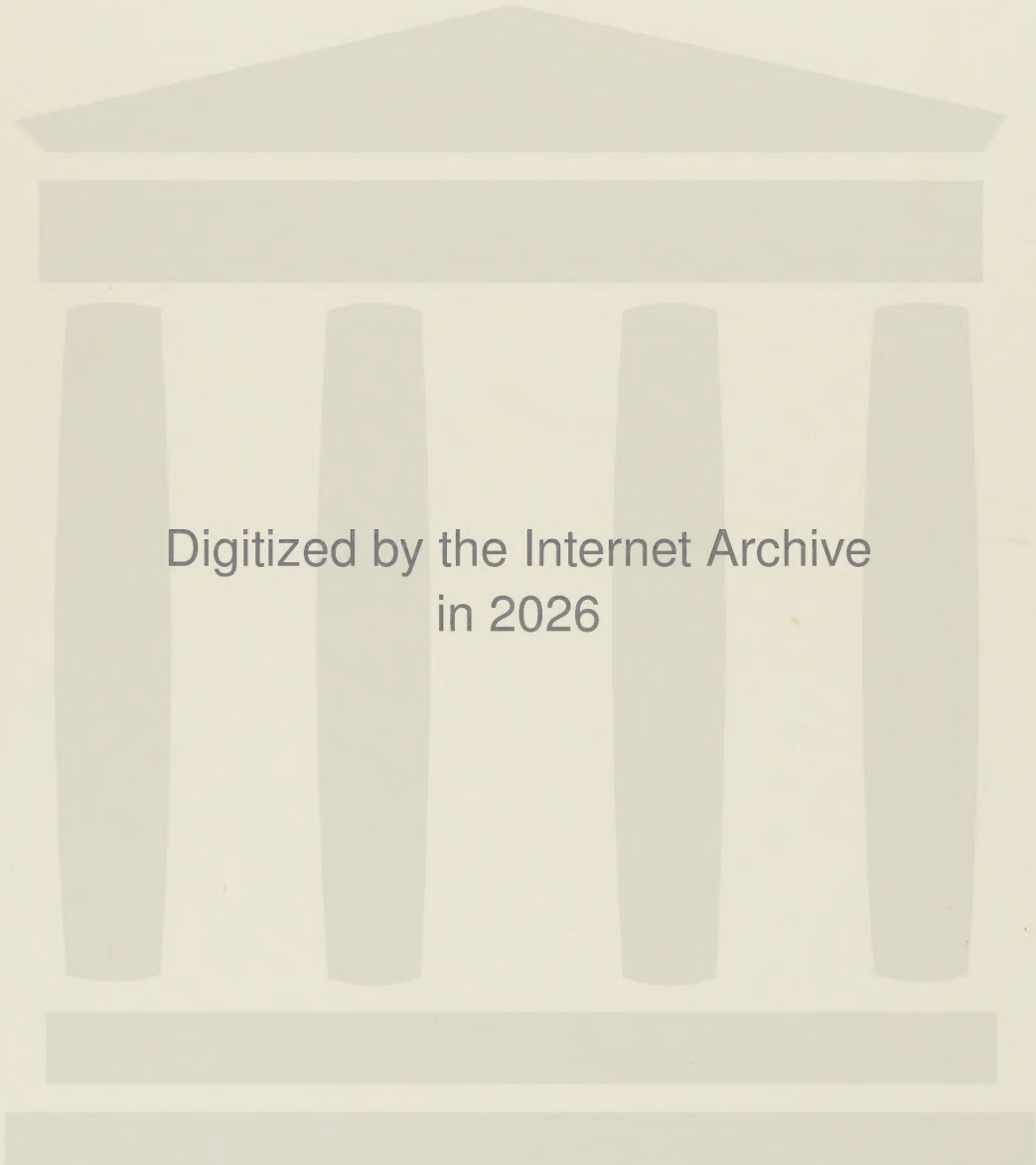
Andrew J. Cosentino and Henry H. Glassie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Andrew J. Cosentino and Henry H. Glassie

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FOREWORD

In joining to support the first retrospective exhibition and major publication dealing with Washington artists of the nineteenth century, the Columbia Historical Society and the National Museum of American Art (NMAA) are fulfilling a long-felt need which began to crystallize in 1978 when Henry H. Glassie was asked by Teresa Grana of the Museum's education department to give a slide lecture on the subject. Realizing that Glassie's talk had broken untilled soil, Richard Murray, then assistant to the director of the NMAA, encouraged him to develop it into an extensive essay.

The potential in Glassie's essay as the subject of an exhibition and the basis of a major book was recognized by Dr. Joshua Taylor, then director of the Museum, and was subsequently developed through the combined efforts of William H. Press, president of the Columbia Historical Society; Henry H. Glassie, a director of the Society and coauthor of the book; Barbara Shissler Nosanow, assistant director for museum programs; and Dr. Andrew J. Cosentino, the guest curator of the exhibition and coauthor with Glassie of the book. Through the Society, funding was sought to help support the project and several foundations contributed generously, including The Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation, The Thomas Meloy Foundation, and The Marjorie Merriweather Post Foundation of D.C. Once begun, the project was vigorously supported by the Museum which, under the aegis of its new director, Dr. Charles Eldredge, took responsibility for the organization of the exhibition while the publication of the book was assumed by the Smithsonian Institution Press.

The cooperation of the local Columbia Historical Society and the Smithsonian's National Museum of American Art is of no small consequence. Two diverse but related perspectives are brought to bear on a subject of both local and national import which has hitherto received only cursory consideration. Moreover, such a joint enterprise restores something of that harmony and balance between local and national concerns that has characterized the best moments in the life of the Capital, and which augurs well for the city and its citizens.

Charles C. Eldredge
Director
National Museum of American Art

William H. Press
President
Columbia Historical Society

PREFACE

Among the more persistent myths about Washington, D.C., is that until recently it has had no artists of its own or that those few whose names could be remembered were inconsequential. Several factors have conspired to perpetuate these notions, foremost of which has been the lack of any systematic study of Washington art and artists. Studies on the political, economic, and social life of the Capital are plentiful, as are those on its plan, architecture, and sculpture; and guide books and photographic albums on monumental Washington are numberless. Yet, in all of these works, even those which deal with the art of the Capital, almost nothing is said about local artists or the art life and artistic heritage of the local city; the emphasis is invariably placed on "national" works of art and their creators.

Until lately, only two essays existed which dealt with Washington artists: Leila Mechlin's "Art Life in Washington" of 1920, and Florence S. Berryman's "Artists of Washington" of 1949, both brief papers read before the Columbia Historical Society. Mechlin's essay is by far the more comprehensive of the two, and is a useful outline of Washington art which benefits greatly from the author's personal acquaintance with local artists, organizations, patrons, and commercial establishments of the late nineteenth century. The paper suffers, however, from Mechlin's assumption that the period between the founding of the city and the turn of the century—in other words, most of the nineteenth century—was a "period of darkness." Berryman's paper deals with a minimum number of artists only, and almost all are the famous itinerants who frequented the Capital. In fact, Berryman's essay is a good index of the precipitous decline which had occurred by 1949 in the recollection and reputation of local artists and of the Capital itself, never, in the author's view, "an outstandingly sympathetic climate for living artists."

Notwithstanding the dearth of published material on Washington artists, there were, especially after World War II, a number of institutions and individuals who preserved and moved to revive the memory of local artists. Foremost of the institutions were the Corcoran Gallery of Art, the National Museum of American Art, the Architect of the Capitol, the Columbia Historical Society, and the District of Columbia Library—all of which kept records on and in many cases works by local artists. Other institutions also participated, including the Phillips Collection, the Fine Arts Commission, Georgetown, Howard, George Washington, and American universities, and such commercial establishments as the Adams-Davidson, Montrose, and Barnett-Aden galleries.

Among the many individuals who have labored to preserve the traditions of art life in Washington are Katherine McCook Knox, Josephine Cobb, Linda Simmons, and especially Professor Francis Grubar, who has long encouraged his graduate students at George Washington University to do scholarly papers on important local artists. Perhaps the greatest impetus for the study of local art occurred in 1976 when Virgil E. McMahan published his monumentally important *Washington D.C.: Artists Born Before 1900: A Biographical Directory*, on which this study depends heavily. Shortly thereafter, in 1978, Henry H. Glassie wrote the first extended essay on local artists, "Painters & Painting in Washington, 1790–1918," the substance of which has been incorporated into this publication. In their collecting, too, McMahan and Glassie, and others, such as Austin Kiplinger, Robert Fastov, Arthur Phelan, and Leo Bernstein, have sought to preserve the evidence of Washington art. In a sense, this study and the large retrospective exhibition of nineteenth-century Washington art held at the National Museum of American Art are the fruition of the efforts of these various organizations and individuals.

As is true of any initial attempt to summarize the experience of an age, this study raises as many questions as it seeks to answer, and, moreover, leaves unsaid much that could have been written had time, space, and resources

allowed. Future historians will resolve our unanswered questions, will inevitably raise their own, and will just as surely modify and expand upon the views expressed herein. Nonetheless, there are certain fixed and salient points in the story of Washington art that these scholars must necessarily confront. Those points make the study of Capital art complex as well as intriguing, and distinguish the Capital experience from that of other American cities. These include the dualistic nature of the Capital; its persistent conservative cast; the constant inundation of the city by transient artists, and the instabilities this created; the impact of the Smithsonian Institution both in attracting artists to the Capital and in fostering among them a taste for descriptive art; the significant role of William Wilson Corcoran in encouraging art at the Capital; the unusually important contributions made to Capital art by German-Americans, and by women; the predominantly Southern orientation of the city; and, not the least, the rural-urban dichotomy which dates to Pierre L'Enfant's imposition of a dynamic urban plan on an essentially virgin land. The enduring oppositions inherent in the rural-urban character of the Capital, for example, serve well to explain not only the tenacity of the landscape tradition in Washington since the late nineteenth century, but also to a degree, the contrapuntal nature of the works of the Washington Color School of the 1960s—from Morris Louis's and Sam Gilliam's sublimated landscapes with their rivulets and splashes of color to the geometries of Kenneth Noland's and Gene Davis's circles, chevrons, and stripes.

One question that needed to be addressed at the outset of this study concerned the parameters which were to be used to determine who was a Washington artist. Such factors as birth or duration of stay at the Capital proved inadequate. Consequently, as would be true in attempting to identify the artists of any great metropolis, a simple subjective measure was adopted which required only that an artist's relationship with the local art community had to have been intimate and significant, no matter how long.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are deeply indebted to many people for their help in making this book possible and for the pleasure of their associations. For their faith and support in bringing the project to realization we are most grateful to William Press, Barbara Shissler Nosanow, Charles Eldredge, and Felix Lowe. Several scholars read the manuscript and made many valuable suggestions: Rena N. Coen, William Truettner, Lillian Miller, and Charles Eldredge. Assistance in research was afforded by many individuals, who often patiently tolerated heavy demands made on them: Ann Mason, Betty Ann Angel, Christine Waller, Kathy Mitchell, Margie Benson, Claudia Esko, Isabella Cunningham, Charlene White, and Andre Hawkins, all interns or volunteer workers at the National Museum of American Art. Others who assisted greatly were: Teresa Grana, Kathryn Killick, Robert Fastov, Betsy Glassie, Samuel Stanley, and Dorothy Glassie; and especially Kathy Kovacs, archivist of the Corcoran Gallery of Art; Perry Fisher, director of the Columbia Historical Society; Corinne Hilton and David DeLorenzo, archivists at Gallaudet College; Maricia Bracey and Karen Jefferson, archivists at Howard University; Anne Radice, Pam Violante, Florian Thayne, and Cynthia Miller of the Office of the Architect of the Capitol; the staffs of the Archives of American Art, the Inventory of American Painting, the Catalogue of American Portraits, the Pre-1877 Exhibition Catalogue Index, the Library of the National Museum of American Art and the National Portrait Gallery, and the Martin Luther King Library; Edwin Red Jennings and Lt. Walter Hawkins who illuminated and secured the way; and William Bruce Bachelor, who gave encouragement and inspiration. Several individuals generously shared materials and knowledge which they had accumulated during years of research: Virgil E. McMahan, Colonel Merl Moore, Lois Marie Fink, Father Joseph Haller, S.J., Louise Daniel Hutchinson, Linda Simmons, Anne Golovin, David Sherman, Brother Williams, and Mildred Thompson. Invaluable support in obtaining photographs was given by Michael G. Fischer who patiently fulfilled our many requests for prints, film, and counsel on how to photograph paintings in various collections; Eleanor Fink and Ebie Curtis, Robert Johnston, Anne Timpano and Margaret Garrett; Jon Freshour; Albert Bambino Johns; Anne Peterson; and Douglass Sprunt of the Junior League of Washington. Numerous institutional collections were opened to us to study and to photograph, through the courtesy of various individuals: Austin Kiplinger and Frances Turgeon of the Kiplinger Washington Collection; Mrs. Edward C. Merrill and Judy P. Mannes of Gallaudet College; Winston Kennedy, Thomas Battle and Alden Lawson of Howard University; Linda Simmons of the Corcoran Gallery of Art; Janet Flint, Tina Norelli, and Tom Bower of the National Museum of American Art; Jean Lewton of Barney House; Elizabeth Harris, Margaret Klapthor, and James Spear of the National Museum of American History; Herman Viola, Nigel Elmore and Paula Fleming of the National Anthropological Archives; Volkmar Wentzel of the Cosmos Club; Alan Bain of the Smithsonian Archives; Allan Robbins of the Lloyd House; Agnes Mullins of Arlington House; James Cheevers of the U.S. Naval Academy; Betty Monkman of the White House; Gail Serfaty of the State Department; Anne Radice and James Ketchum of the Capitol; Clifford Nelson of the U.S. Geological Survey; Robert Lyle of the Georgetown Library; Jean Federico of the Daughters of the American Revolution Museum; the Reverend John C. Harper of St. John's Church; Clifford Chieffo of Georgetown University; Lenore Miller of George Washington University; and Father Harry Hock of St. Aloysius Church. Equally generous in allowing us access to their works by Washington artists were private collectors, most of whom are noted in the text. Not the least important was the support given us by the staff of the Museum Programs office of the National Museum of American Art: Margaret Cogswell, Anne Timpano, Audrey Lindstrom Fuller, Marjorie Tuttle, and Colleen Brown.

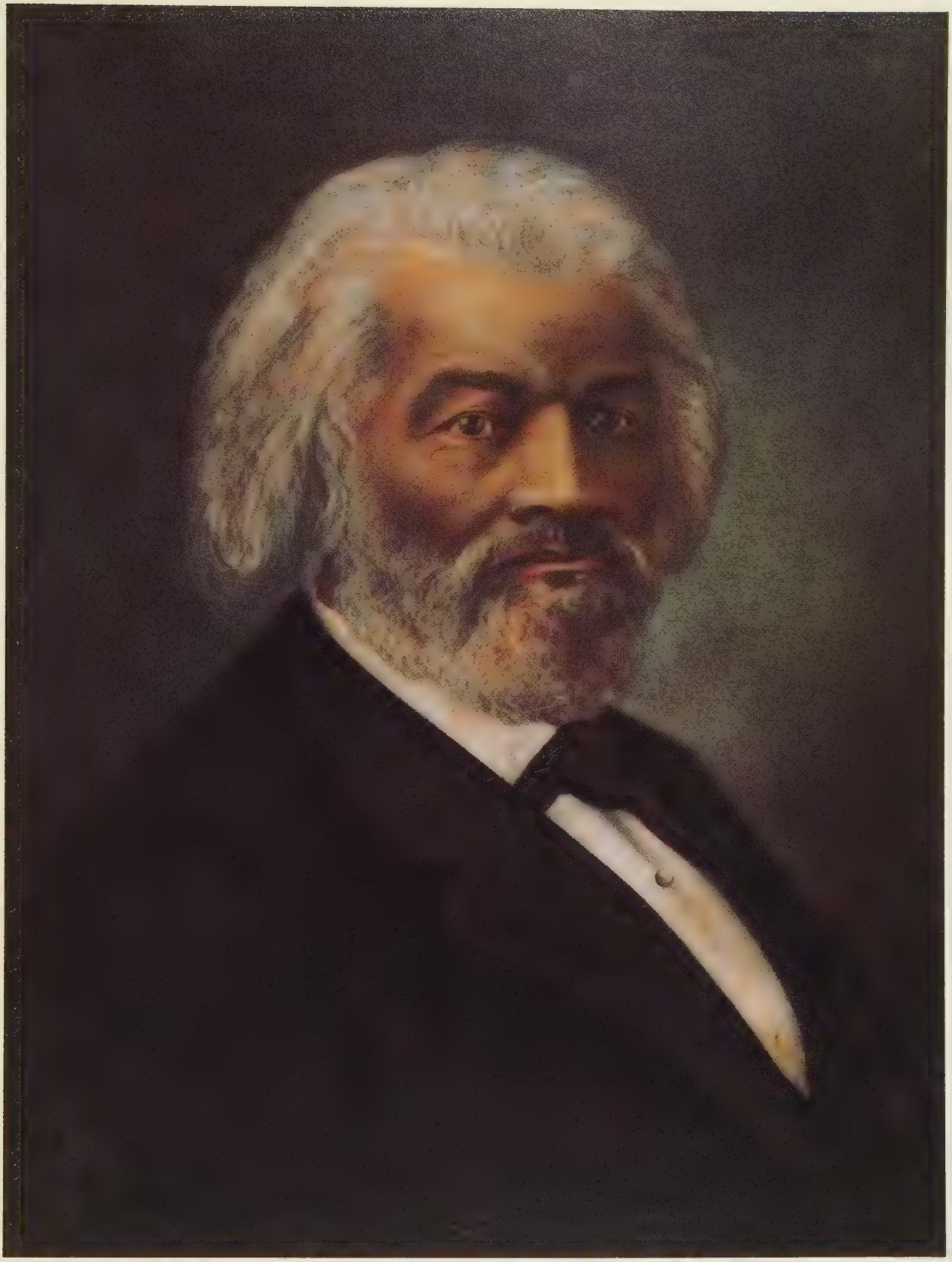
A.J.C. and H.H.G.

Pl. I. Charles Bird King (1785–1862), *The Anatomy of Art Appreciation, "The Vanity of the Artist's Dream,"* 1830, oil on canvas, 36 × 30 in. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Gift of Grenville L. Winthrop.

Pl. II. George Washington Parke Custis (1781–1857), *Battle of Germantown*, c. 1850, oil on canvas, 35½ × 49 in. The Dietrich Brothers Americana Corporation, Chester Spring, Pennsylvania.

Pl. III. Richard Norris Brooke (1847–1920), *A Dog Swap*, 1881, oil on canvas, 47⅛ × 65⅞ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of Colonel Thomas G. Young, Jr., 1956.

Pl. IV. Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), *Morning News*, 1905, oil on canvas, 50 × 36 in. Private Collection.



Pl. V. Daniel Freeman (1868–after 1919), *Frederick Douglass*, 1895, pastel, 26½ × 21½ in. Collection of Jerome C. Gray.

Pl. VI. Max Weyl (1837–1914), *Potomac River*, 1888, oil on canvas, 42½ × 90½ in. Peter Gallaudet Powers.

PROLOGUE

Unlike any other city in the land, the Capital comprehended from its inception a distinctive blend of the real and the ideal. In addition to being the political and symbolic center of the nation, Washington was and is a local community, with its native citizenry, local traditions, and problems. Naturally, as the seat of government, with its attendant aura of wealth and power, the city has always drawn to it people of every imaginable stripe, including artists. Many of these artists came as itinerants, but some remained to become Washingtonians. These, along with native artists, created a constant mixture of varied artistic impulses which only gradually coalesced into a unified whole, as did the monumental city newly designed by Pierre L'Enfant.

"No nation," wrote L'Enfant to President Washington in 1789, "perhaps had ever before the opportunity offered them of deliberately deciding on the spot where their Capital city should be fixed . . . and altho' the means now within the power of the country are not such as to pursue the design to any great extent . . . the plan should be drawn on such a scale as to leave room for that aggrandisement & embellishment which the increase of the wealth of the nation will permit it to pursue at any period however remote. . . ."[1]

The young Frenchman's plan was as bold and brilliant as was his vision and, although modified in relatively insignificant ways over the years, remains one of the great concepts of urban design. That so grandiose an undertaking should have been attempted in the fledgling Republic was nothing short of phenomenal, and to foreign visitors it seemed ludicrous to expect the successful establishment of a monumental city in a wilderness. This was a dangerous, threatening land led by a newly formed, experimental government constantly in financial distress. It is no wonder the attempt was ridiculed. On a visit in 1804, the Irish poet Thomas Moore wrote in biting verse:

In fancy now beneath the twilight gloom,
Come, let me lead thee o'er this second Rome,
Where tribunes rule, where dusky Davi bow,
And what was Goose Creek once is Tiber now.
This embryo capital, where Fancy sees
Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees;
Which second sighted seers e'en now adorn
With shrines unbuilt and heroes yet unborn,
Though now but woods and Jefferson they see
Where streets should run and sages ought *to be.*[2]

Even in its infancy, however, Washington had its defenders, attuned to the marvelous potentialities of L'Enfant's vision. The chatty, usually critical Mrs. Trollope was one of them, noting in her diary during her 1830 visit to the Capital:

I was delighted with the whole aspect of Washington. . . . It has been laughed at by foreigners, and even by natives, because the original plan of the city was upon an enormous scale, and but a very small part of it has been as yet executed. But I confess I see nothing in the least degree ridiculous about it . . . the appearance of the metropolis rising gradually into life and splendour, is a spectacle of high historic interest.[3]

Thus, from its inception the Capital city inspired extremes of praise and condemnation, and the ambivalence that is still characteristic of

America's attitude toward Washington. Nevertheless, it has remained a symbol of the highest aspirations of the nation.

That symbolic aspect was most fully articulated in the Capital's architecture whose significance, unlike that of the city's plan, was immediately comprehended and almost universally praised. Even the intemperate Charles Dickens had good words for the handsome public buildings that he saw during his visit to Washington in 1842. Cast generally in the classical modes derived from Rome and Greece, those buildings indelibly inscribed on the city an enduring architectural tradition of heroic proportions.

Against this grandiose and idealistic backdrop lay the local city constantly struggling to maintain and develop its parochial traditions in the face of overwhelming problems, including the inescapable transience of much of its population and the incessant conflict between federal and home rule. Aesthetic endeavors were not immune to these pressures, and it is within the context of the uniquely dualistic character of the city that its artistic heritage must be studied.

Chapter I

ITINERANTS & TRADITIONS AT THE CAPITAL, 1790–1820

The District of Columbia was formed in 1790 and about one-seventh of it, the original city of Washington bounded on the north by Florida Avenue, was laid out in streets and lots soon thereafter. When the seat of government finally was moved to Washington in 1800, there were 109 brick houses and 263 frame houses sheltering fewer than 3,000 souls. About the same number were living in Georgetown and a few more in Alexandria, then also part of the District of Columbia. Washington was a poor village with only 156 federal employees. Albert Gallatin reported in 1801 that there were 7 or 8 boarding houses, 1 tailor, 1 shoemaker, 1 printer, a washerwoman, a small dry goods store, and an oyster house, concluding "this makes the whole of the Federal City as connected with the Capitol."

No sooner had Congress announced in 1790 its intention of establishing a federal district than artists came flocking to the "Ten-mile square." Since most of them were born or at least trained abroad, they instinctively gravitated toward what was to be the center of power and, they assumed, of governmental patronage for the arts. They were sadly mistaken as William Dunlap, one of the earlier artists to visit, quickly learned.

"From the window where I am writing," Dunlap noted, while lodging at Semmes' Hotel during his first trip to Washington in 1806, "I see the Capitol at two miles distance, towering like some antique Ruin, & wanting nothing but some Colossal columns with their heads at their feet, to remind one of Rome or Persepolis." The allusions to antiquity notwithstanding—the classicizing Capitol and the Romantic Zeitgeist seemed to demand them—the artist-dramatist and America's first art historian had come to Washington not merely to ruminate, but to paint heads, especially those of the national leaders convened for the new session of Congress.[1]

While his hopes were not fulfilled (although he did secure commissions for portraits of a few of the local lights), Dunlap enjoyed the friendship and hospitality, if not the patronage, of some of the famous: Thomas Jefferson, the Dr. William Thorntons, the Samuel Harrison Smiths, the Joel Barlows, and the James Madisons. Mrs. Madison, whom he thought the "leader of everything fashionable in Washington," demurred in her earlier "wish to have Mr. Madison's picture," but she did allow Dunlap to copy her portraits of Madison and Jefferson done by Gilbert Stuart during his two-year sojourn at the Capital from 1803 to 1805.[2]

Although Dunlap praised the Capital's sylvan beauties—the "picturesque" winding of the "Tiber," "the high banks" of Rock Creek "which afford pleasant scites [*sic*] for a number of Gentlemen's villas," and the "noble sheet of water which the Potomac here spreads"—Washington was nonetheless a backwoods village.[3]

For example, on his arrival in the District, Dunlap was constrained to stay at McGlaughlin's Hotel in Georgetown where, he noted, "Many members of Congress reside from the scantiness of accommodations at

Washington," and that most were abysmally lonely as a result of their being "absent from their homes, their wifes & families." Even the "Shops and Stores which supply the inhabitants of Washington," he found, "were principally in George Town." Moreover, he keenly observed that from its commencement the city was "the resort of speculators & projectors" who in their wake had left many houses "unfinished & decaying," leading him to philosophize that "people cannot live much less grow rich upon prospects. . . ."[4]

In respect to patronage, artists were equally disappointed. As they had discovered in the older great cities of America, from Boston to Charleston, and now perhaps even more so in Washington, the Capital offered practically none of the patronage of Old World centers. To begin with, there was no aristocratic class to support the arts. While there were vestiges of the cultivated families of the Revolutionary period represented in the Congress, mostly Federalists, increasingly the membership was made up of frontiersmen and Yankees. These two groups represented, respectively, the rapidly expanding West and the forces of the Industrial Revolution, both of which were causative factors in the making of the "common man." In fact, coincident with the establishment of the Capital was the election of the much-feared symbol of Republicanism, Thomas Jefferson, about whom was chanted:

Lord! how the Federalists will stare,
At Jefferson, in Adam's chair!

What government patronage did exist, however, was meted out by the Congress, which often meant not at all. Indeed, the forces that have since played perennially on the question of government patronage of the arts exerted themselves immediately at the new Capital, and were evident in the debate over the monument to George Washington mandated as early as 1783 by the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Filled with lofty idealism, pragmatic opportunism, and scurrilous personal attacks as well, the debate continued until 1853 when the Congress finally voted funds for the equestrian statue by Clark Mills on Washington Circle.[5]

The record respecting government patronage of architectural projects was somewhat better although the acrimony among architects, especially those of the Capitol, is legendary. Guided by the finely attuned taste of Thomas Jefferson, building projects were wisely thrown open to national competition, resulting in rather elegant if simple designs erected in reasonably good time. The necessity for enclosed spaces surely dictated the speed with which the "President's House" and the Capitol were built, as did the general lack of Congressional intrusion in their undertaking.

While public commissions inevitably resulted in embroilments, everyone acceded to the desirability of portraiture, which had been the staple of artists since Colonial days and which would remain so even beyond the advent of the camera in 1839. As a matter of fact, the portrait early on became so hallowed a tradition at the Capital, that it continues to be a major genre to the present. How powerful that tradition was is indicated by the fact that from 1800 on practically every major portraitist made a pilgrimage to Washington. Indeed, from 1790 to about 1820 it was the itinerant "phiz-monger" who dominated art life at the Capital, overshadowing the few local painters who were resident.

Initially, artists came to Georgetown and Alexandria, which were incorporated into the District of Columbia, and which, along with Hamburg, Carrollsburg, and other locations therein, were being considered as sites for the Capital city. As relatively young, vigorous commercial and mercantile centers, they could and did support at least a market for portraits. Far more artists came to these villages than can be named, but several are discussed to give a sense of the times.

Among the early comers were a Mr. Caille from Paris, who in 1790 opened in Georgetown what was certainly one of the first tutorial schools in the District, and which he advertised for the teaching of "painting, carving, and drawing." Not long after, in 1793, came a Mr. Williams, possibly William Joseph Williams of New York City, who advertised as a portrait painter "Lately from Fredericksburg." That he could ask for payment of half the price of his painting at the first sitting suggests he may have had something of a reputation. Two more Frenchmen, the rather well-known miniaturist and musician Phillipe Abraham Peticolas and the unknown LeBlond de St. Hilaire, came to Alexandria in 1797, taking rooms at Mr. Hickman's on King Street. Peticolas advertised that

he would take no money until his likenesses were "Acknowledged to be good," and St. Hilaire indicated that while he was here principally "To take the plan of this city," he would also open an academy at which men could take mathematics; cabinetmakers and silversmiths, ornamental drawing and designing; and women, drawing, landscapes, flowers, and patternmaking for embroidery. Lastly, in 1798 the Baltimore miniaturist Moranges also established himself for a few days in Alexandria, at the Indian Queen Hotel as his notice claimed, taking "Likenesses as true as life" and if not exact, without charge. Few works by these artists are known and in some cases none.[6]

All of these painters were itinerants. The first major resident artist in the new city of Washington, and perhaps in the District, was Lewis Clephane. A portraitist and hairworker, Clephane came to the Capital from New York and was well established by 1797, at which time he advertised a "Half a Cent Reward" for a runaway apprentice from his "Painting Business." Numerous references in the diary of Mrs. William Thornton (wife of Dr. Thornton, the designer of the Capitol) indicate that Clephane dealt in glass, canvas, and stretchers, and that he was often employed by Dr. Thornton to work at the Capitol building and White House.[7]

That Clephane had to resort to various enterprises to supplement his income from portrait painting is not unusual; many other artists did the same. Nevertheless, although he was regularly listed as a portrait painter in the city directories from 1822—when the directories first began to be published—until his death in 1833, it is difficult to determine how active Clephane was as an artist. Indeed, none of the work that he must have done in Washington is known, and only one portrait may be safely ascribed to him, that of John I. Remsen done in New York in 1788 (Fig. 1). To have so meager a record is regrettable as the Remsen portrait exhibits an exquisite sense of line and pattern, although the characterization is weak.

The Remsen portrait places Clephane clearly among the ranks of "primitives," those artists who, whether trained or not, are indifferent to or incapable of absorbing the canons of academic art. Even if we are not sufficiently informed of the period's critical response to such artists—who in addition to Clephane included such well-known painters as Winthrop Chandler, Ralph Earl, and Joshua Johnston—the many paintings by them which exist suggest that they offered a viable alternative to the skillfully designed and executed works of academic artists.

Clephane struck deep roots in Washington. His great-nephew Lewis Clephane II was a cofounder of the local Republican party and a noted abolitionist whose paper, the *National Era*, engaged Harriet Beecher Stowe to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The younger Clephane apparently dabbled in art as well, as he is known to have painted for the Fourth Presbyterian Church a silken banner depicting a dove with olive branch hovering over the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and superscribed with the motto "Our National Bulwark." His son, Lewis Painter Clephane, carried on the family's artistic tradition as a professional painter in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[8]

The number of artists coming to Washington naturally increased with the removal here of the seat of government, drawing scores of minor as well as major artists. The distinguished miniaturist Robert Field was among the first to come, following Congress from Philadelphia and remaining in and around the Capital until 1805. English born and trained, he brought with him that delicate, sophisticated technique and incipient Romantic style best seen in the handsome, if not flattering, portrait of Dr. William Thornton (1800), one of the city's most cultivated citizens. In 1802 and 1803, fast on the heels of Field came two artists who settled in Washington and who, along with Clephane, may be considered the Capital's earliest resident painters: Charles Peale Polk and Benjamin Latrobe. (The latter was an architect, whose pictorial works are discussed later, along with those of two more of the city's first artists, already resident here, Rebecca Nourse and Nicholas King.)

Thanks to a probing study and exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, much more is known of Charles Peale Polk.[9] The nephew and adopted son of Charles Willson Peale, Polk had ample training in art while growing up in Philadelphia, but managed never to dilute that innate naiveté which characterizes his work and which even lingers charmingly in that of his much more talented uncle's. Despite several years as a successful artist in Maryland and Virginia, Polk persistently sought a position with

Fig. 1. Lewis Clephane (1752–1833), *John I. Remsen*, 1788, oil on canvas, 20 × 24 in. Courtesy of Museum of the City of New York.

Fig. 2. Charles Peale Polk (1767–1822), *Mrs. Edgar Patterson and Daughter*, 1803–4, oil on canvas, 36 × 26 in. Leon and Maureen Berkowitz.

the federal government, no doubt because of his large family which numbered nine children by 1802 when he arrived in Washington, and twelve by 1820 when he and his third wife retired to a farm in Virginia.

While at the Capital Polk declared bankruptcy twice and was twice expelled—for lying and extravagant living—from the Baptist Church, even though he had been a founding member. Polk nevertheless managed to paint a sizeable number of portraits, often in ensembles of two or more members of a single family. One of the more successful is *Mrs. Edgar Patterson and Daughter* (Fig. 2) of about 1803. Sedate and statuesque with her *collo longo*, Mrs. Patterson holds her wriggling child, a monument to the artist's inability to capture the beauties of childhood. Perhaps because Polk's financial situation was relatively more secure by 1803, the Patterson portrait contains none of the nervous attenuations or peculiarly electric highlights, or the power either, of his portraits of the Hites and the Madisons (parents of James) done several years earlier. Most attractive is the portrait of Nathan Loughborough (1803), whose decorative qualities, rhythmic line, and supple bend of the torso and right arm, however, lead one to question if the painting is by Polk.

In the tradition of his uncle, but lacking the skills of that most remarkable of men, Polk contemplated opening a museum not long after arriving at the Capital. He was wisely discouraged by Peale, who wrote to Polk, "My sons Raphaelle and Rembrandt you know made the attempt at Baltimore, which is certainly, as being more populous, a more eligible place than the Federal City." Polk was, however, one of the first artists in Washington to employ *verre eglomisé*—the technique of painting and incising profiles in gold and black on glass. His success at the art was noted by his uncle, who wrote Raphaelle in 1805 from Washington: "Polk had many of them at five dollars each," which was the average price, sufficiently inexpensive to account for the widespread appeal of the type, and of the equally cheap silhouette and miniature. Among the notables Polk delineated—also his best efforts in this medium—are the profiles of James Madison, (c. 1803) secretary of state at the time; Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury (c. 1803); and John Sessford (1803–1810), author of the *Sessford Annals*.

That public or private notices and encomiums about the work of such artists as Clephane and Polk should be scarce is perhaps explained by the advent in Washington, not long after they had settled here, of several of the finest artists of the Federal period, foremost of whom was Gilbert Stuart. Long the most famous and sought after of American painters, Stuart introduced into the nascent city that dazzling Baroque style he had acquired during his years in England, as well as his unique ability to delve "deep into *mind*," as an English critic put it, to extract "a conspicuous draught of character . . . as sensible to feeling and to sight as the most palpable projections in any feature of a face."[10]

From the moment he arrived in Washington in 1803 until he left in 1805, Stuart was constantly occupied in his studio, built especially for him on Pennsylvania Avenue by Benjamin Latrobe, doing portraits of all the great names of the day: the Madisons, the Thorntons, and Jefferson, to name a few. Now elevating his sitter to a sublime timelessness, as in the *Jefferson*, and then to the sphere of courtly elegance, as in the *Mrs. Madison*, Stuart captivated his sitters. Mrs. Madison was sufficiently enthralled by the artist to write her sister, "Being a man of genius, he of course does things differently from other people."[11] Stuart's impact on American painting has been incalculable. Dozens of young painters from Charles Willson Peale to Washington Allston, benefitted from his example and from his teaching, and there is no doubt that the legacy of his brilliant style set a standard against which all others who came to the Capital would be measured, and which has not often been matched.

During his two years in Washington, Stuart was frequently the guest of the Dr. William Thorntons—as were most other artists who came to the Capital at this time, William Winstanley and Robert Field, as examples. Stuart's portrait of Dr. Thornton (Fig. 3) is a superb example of the artist's ability to combine his unique painterly colorism with those emphases on individual character and heroic poise demanded by the opposing aesthetics of the Romantics and the Neoclassicists of the day. On one occasion in 1804, Stuart was joined at the Thornton's by Charles Willson Peale, who was escorting the brilliant young Baron von Humboldt about the Capital to see the sights and to meet with President Jefferson. Peale

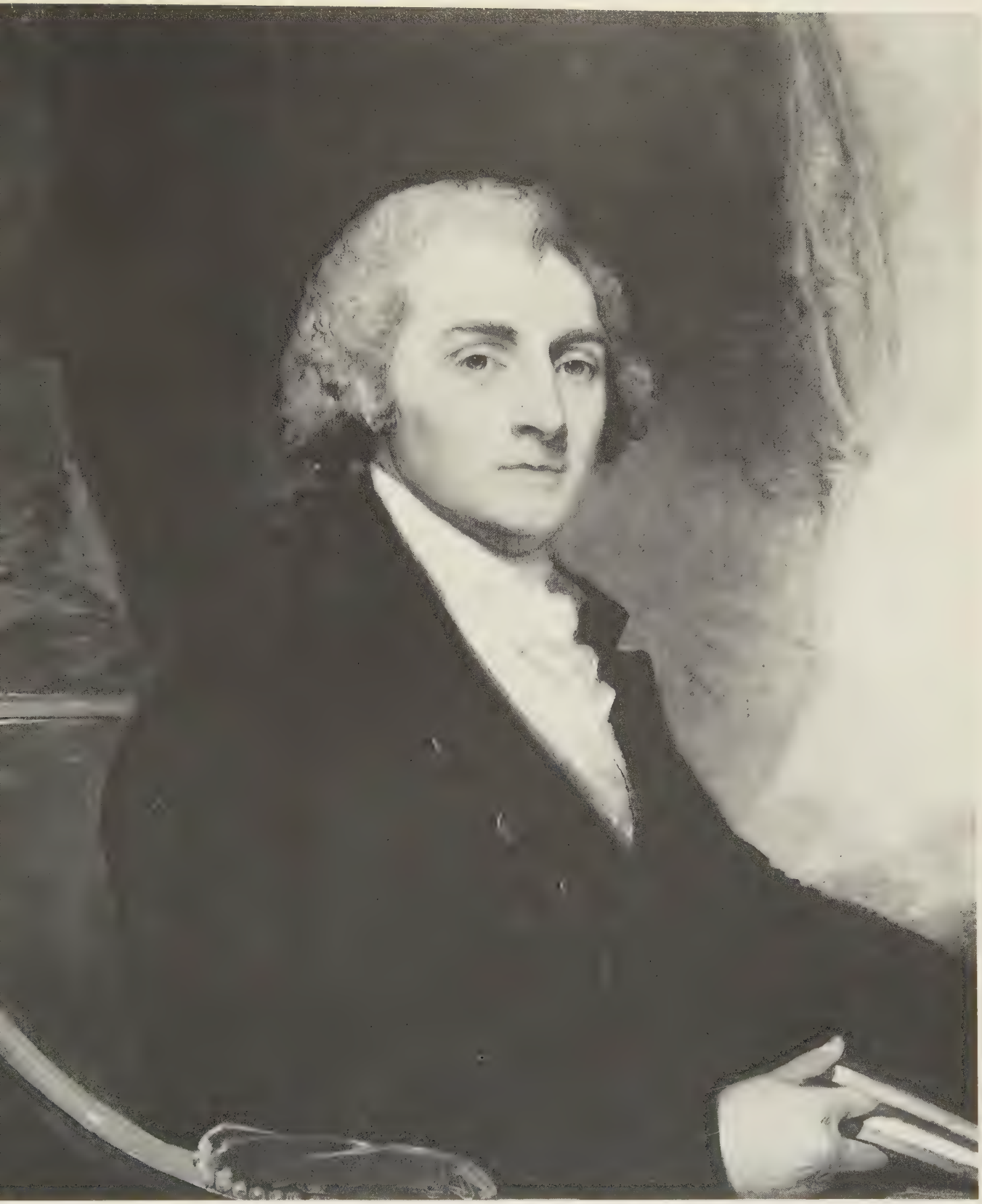


Fig. 3. Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), *William Thornton*, 1804, oil on canvas, 29 × 24⅛ in. Andrew W. Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

returned to Washington again in late 1804, particularly to have his son Rembrandt paint the portraits of President Jefferson and other notables for his museum. Indeed, Peale was no stranger to the area, having come at least since the 1780s—at which time he painted the lovely portrait of Benjamin Stoddert's children in Georgetown—and continuing to return frequently until his death in 1827.[12]

In addition to seeking portrait commissions during his many trips to the Capital, Peale also attempted to convince the government to adopt his great museum of natural history, which he viewed as part of the national patrimony. As early as 1802 he wrote to his close friend President Jefferson, with whom he shared a passionate vision of a great national cultural center in which art, civilization, and science would be combined (a powerfully recurrent idea at the Capital, as will be seen):

I have long contemplated that by industry such a variety of interesting subjects of nature might be collected in one view as would enlighten the minds of my countrymen and demonstrate the importance of diffusing a knowledge of the wonderful and various beauties of Nature, more powerful to humanize the mind, promote harmony, and aid virtue, than any other school yet imagined.

That in the end these labors would be crowned in a national establishment of my museum. Here I must observe, and it ought never to be forgotten, that the collection which now constitutes my museum is but a part of an establishment, which in becoming national, should embrace the exhibition of every article by which knowledge in all its branches can possibly be communicated.[13]

Had Peale's farsighted vision been recalled when the James Smithson bequest was made to America, a ready-made plan for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge"—words that Peale used often—would have been available. As it was, of course, the dream of a national museum was never realized in Peale's time. Nonetheless in seeking to nationalize his collections, Peale established a precedent that was henceforth to characterize countless efforts at the Capital, often made by those directly under the influence of his ideas.

At the same time that Stuart and Peale were establishing far-reaching traditions at the Capital, and no less for the nation, other artists came whose contributions were also significant: Julien Fevret De Saint-Mémin, whose innumerable portraits in crayon and watercolor, and engraved profile likenesses reflect a mind steeped in the rationalist French tradition; and Rembrandt Peale who, like his father, maintained a constant dialogue with the Capital city to his dying day, and whose intensely powerful portraits show the influence of the great Parisian master, Jacques-Louis David. That the tastes of the day tolerated a wide range of expressions and abilities is evident from the relative success of Polk during these years of high art, and is dramatically underscored, moreover, by the arrival in Washington, at about the same time as Stuart in 1803, of the Baltimore primitive Frederick Kemmelmeyer. Unfortunately, nothing is known of Kemmelmeyer's relationship with the other primitive painters at the Capital, especially Polk, who had been in Baltimore from 1791 to 1796 when Kemmelmeyer was there.[14]

If less notable qualitatively, art events at the Capital were quite as numerous from 1806 to 1812 as they had been for the previous six years. Because of severe economic pressures brought on by the embargo instituted by Jefferson and carried on by Madison, artists took more frequently to the road, as they were wont to do in hard times. Thus large numbers of them moved in and out of the Capital, punctuating its life with varying degrees of color. William Dunlap's visit in 1806 is significant as much for what the talented litterateur observed and recorded as for what he painted. Among other characteristics of local life already described, Dunlap was amused by the Capital's distinctly Southern flavor: "This," he wrote his wife, "is the land of Hog, hommineу & hoecake. At the public houses they have hommineу at Breakfast, hommineу at Dinner, & hommineу at Supper. . . ."[15]

Most intriguing to Dunlap were the lights of Washington society—the Thorntons and Madisons, of course; Samuel Harrison Smith, founder of the *National Intelligencer*, and his wife, the novelist Margaret Bayard Smith; and the Joel Barlows—all of whom he wrote unabashedly. Of particular interest was Joel Barlow, late minister to France; author of the epic poem on the founding of America, the *Columbiad*; and proprietor of that magnificently situated estate overlooking Rock Creek, "Calorama," where the Barlows entertained lav-

ishly and which was filled with objets d'art brought in from Paris, including numerous paintings. Unfortunately nothing is known of the latter except that they were sold at public auction on the death of Barlow's widow in 1818. In that year "Calorama" went to the remarkable Colonel George Bomford, chief of ordnance, and Mrs. Barlow's brother-in-law.[16]

Numerous other artists came to the Capital during the years prior to the War of 1812, so to characterize further the predominance of these itinerants and the endless variety of services they offered, passing notice should be made of some of them. For example, in 1807 came the little-known artist C. Boyle, no doubt Caleb Boyle, who remained until 1811 when he returned to Baltimore (he was back in Washington often, however). While here painting portraits, Boyle ran a museum of the type inspired by Peale, judging by the description afforded by that early chronicler of Washington, D.B. Warden: "Mr. Boyle, a painter from Baltimore, collects objects of natural history, to form a museum in a building near the center of the city, which was formerly occupied by Stewart, the celebrated portrait painter." Of note also was the arrival from Philadelphia in 1807 of David Boudon who advertised himself as a "Limner from Geneva," offering to do miniatures and profile portraits on vellum for three dollars. In 1810 arrived the portrait, miniature, and historical painter from Paris, Mr. Boudet—either Nicholas Vincent Boudet or his son Dominic W. Boudet, both of whom were in Washington at the time. Perhaps it was one of these roving artists who painted the attractive profile of Alethia Browning Tanner, who had bought her freedom from slavery through money earned selling produce near Lafayette Square. Or perhaps the lost watercolor, known only through a photograph, was done by a local black artist now buried in anonymity.[17]

The list of portrait painters visiting the Capital through 1820 may easily be enlarged, but those few mentioned demonstrate that from the city's inception, its art life was far more lively and significant than hitherto suspected, and, one might add, more intensely competitive. Indeed, it is easy to forget that it was for survival that artists became itinerants, and that in addition to a grueling contest for patrons they had to overcome a native disregard for art, perhaps best mirrored in the remark of Matthew Jouett's father on learning of his son's interest in painting: "I send Matthew to college to make a gentleman of him and he has turned out to be nothing but a damned sign painter." The self-conscious, defensive posture inspired by this attitude is painfully evident even in the comment written in 1800 by the cultivated Jefferson to James Madison: "I am an enthusiast on the subject of the arts. But it is an enthusiasm of which I am not ashamed, as its object is to improve the taste of my countrymen, to increase their reputation, to reconcile to them the respect of the world, and to procure them its praise."[18]

In addition to these problems, artists were faced with the economic crises brought on by the Embargo and the War of 1812. At the Capital, these events combined with earlier disastrous failures of real estate speculators to create one of the most difficult periods in the city's yet brief history. Perhaps its darkest hour occurred with the British invasion and the burning of the Capitol and White House in the summer of 1814. Expressing dismay over the defeat of local forces and fear for the removal of the capital from Washington, Margaret Bayard Smith wrote to her sister in 1814: "The consternation . . . is general. The despondency still greater." Nonetheless, she argued, "This is not the first capital of a great empire, that has been invaded and conflagrated; Rome was reduced still lower by the Goths of old, than we are, and when its senate proposed removing the seat of government, they were answered, Romans would never be driven from their homes. . . . May a Roman spirit animate our people. . . ." Amazingly, out of the bitter ashes the city did arise once more, truly, as it came to be known, the "Phoenix on the Potomac."[19]

With the eventual defeat of the British, in fact, the young Republic experienced a great economic resurgence and was more determined than ever to assert and to define itself. What followed was a dramatic florescence in the arts which continued to the outbreak of the Civil War and which saw some of our most notable artistic achievements. City after city—particularly the great maritime and commercial centers of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, which far outstripped the Capital in wealth and patronage of the arts—adorned itself not only with monuments memorializing both the Revolution and the War of 1812, but especially with

Fig. 4. Joseph Wood (c. 1778–1830), *Dolley Madison*, 1817, oil on panel, 9 × 7 in. The Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

portraits of heroes of the recent contest such as Oliver Hazard Perry, Thomas Macdonough, and Andrew Jackson.

No doubt it was the lure of such commissions that led Joseph Wood to Washington in 1816, where he remained to become the Capital's first notable, if controversial, artist-in-residence. By the time he arrived Wood already had established himself as an exceptional portraitist of cabinet-size likenesses, but apparently also as a lover of the dissolute life. William Dunlap quizzically remarked of him and John Wesley Jarvis, Wood's partner in New York from 1802 to 1810: "[They] indulged in the excitements, and experienced the perplexities of *mysterious marriages* . . . [which] kept both poor, and confined . . . to the society of young men, instead of that respectable communion with ladies, and the refined circles of the city. . . ." Yet, S.A. Elliot, apparently Wood's closest friend in Washington, wrote of him, "In addition to enjoying a high position among his artistic colleagues [Wood's] company was courted by the first men of the nation."[20]

Nonetheless, Joseph Wood obviously had some problems, most likely stemming from his excessive drinking, which seems to have increased after he came to Washington. Even his friend Elliot, whose long exposition on the artist was published in 1834 by the Washington Temperance Association, recognized that during the 1820s Wood was more often drunk than painting, and that his friends, while encouraging him to "excess" and seeking "his company in prosperity," "deserted him in the dark hour of adversity." Who these friends were—they "numerously attended" his funeral in 1830—it would be interesting to know, as Wood's name seems rarely to be found in the memoirs of those informative social leaders of the day, Mrs. Thornton and Mrs. Smith, suggesting the possibility that the local elite citizenry avoided the artist.

Whatever Wood's problems or reputation, many a famous name sat to him in his studio, variously located on the Avenue: Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John Marshall, and not the least, President and Mrs. Madison. The portrait of the latter (Fig. 4) shows Wood at his best, clearly indicating why he was for a time in such demand. Painted in 1817, the picture has an unadorned directness of expression that seems appropriately to reflect the nature and ideals of those who presided over the destinies of the nation. More importantly, the Madison portrait shows the changes that occurred in social and artistic conventions from the turn of the century. No longer do we see the flashy Baroque style, the idealization, and accoutrements—columns, flying drapery—that appeared in Stuart's portrait of Dolley Madison, and that would continue to be evident in portraits by artists of the English and Continental schools. Here is a work by a native son trained at home, and steeped in the growing lore of the common man, increasingly prevalent since Jefferson's presidency.

In a sense Wood's fourteen-year reign in Washington signaled the end of the dominance of the itinerant artist, and, moreover, of those artists who exclusively limited themselves to doing heads. Not that portrait painters in Washington declined in numbers after Wood, but rather that directions in American art began to change rapidly, and the best-known artists henceforth would generally be landscapists and painters of still life, genre, and, to some extent, history.

While landscape, as the term is used today, was only beginning to emerge as an acceptable art form in the early nineteenth century, scenic views and topographical paintings had long traditions behind them dating back to the seventeenth-century Dutch and especially to the eighteenth-century Italian *vedute* of Canaletto and Francesco Guardi. That tradition was brought to America by the British, primarily, and is well represented by those few early views which exist of the District and its environs, painted mostly by itinerants: the *Georgetown Waterfront* (c. 1790) by George Parkyns; *Great Falls* (c. 1810), one of those subjects considered "sublime"; George Beck's two most engaging paintings, *Washington as Seen from Georgetown Heights* (c. 1800) and *Great Falls* (c. 1807); and the historically valuable views of the Capitol in 1800, and of the burnt-out Capitol and White House in 1814, by William Birch and George Munger, respectively.

There were also a surprising number of local artists who painted views. Most were amateurs who worked, interestingly enough, in the same sort of primitive manner as Lewis Clephane and Charles Peale Polk, imbuing their paintings with those awkward yet intensely personal qualities so characteristic of the type. This is

Fig. 5. Rebecca Nourse (before 1800–after 1827), *Frederick Road*, c. 1800, watercolor. Private Collection.

particularly true of the works of Georgetown resident Rebecca Nourse. Her views of Frederick Road (now Wisconsin Avenue) (Fig. 5) and of Rock Creek Church, probably done in the first decade of the century, have wonderfully daring compositional schemes and a rare expressive power as well. Nicholas King's few known works are less personal, perhaps as a result of this training as a surveyor, although his informative depiction *F Street Ridge, West* (c. 1803), as seen from the south side from Blodgett's Hotel toward the President's House, captures the rural, bucolic character of the city.

Much more numerous are the paintings of Benjamin Latrobe and the Baroness Hyde de Neuville, whose experiences were diametrically opposed, yet who seemed to share an unfettered freedom born of immensely curious minds. Latrobe is best known, of course, as the surveyor of public buildings in Washington from 1803—when Jefferson urged him to come—almost continually through 1817. He was, nonetheless, a perceptive student of life, constantly and skillfully recording his observations in visual as well as verbal forms. In his watercolor *St. John's Church and the White House* of 1816 (Fig. 6), for example, Latrobe depicts with characteristically dramatic power the bold, cubic simplicity of the church, which he himself had designed, as well as the still-scarred White House, whose imposing, templelike north porch he had done also. At the ceremony con-

Fig. 6. Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764–1820), *St. John's Church and the White House*, 1816, watercolor, 5 × 8¾ in. St. John's Church, Lafayette Square, Washington, D.C.

secrating St. John's, in fact, Latrobe played the organ and guided the choir in the singing of the dedicatory hymn, which he composed for the occasion and whose ringing verse (only several lines of which are given here) drove home the spiritual import of the edifice:

God of power, God of Love . . .
Fill the house we now prepare
With Thy presence and Thy grace! . . .
Vainly toils the Artist's skill
Worthily a shrine to raise
Which Thy majesty may fill.[21]

Unquestionably the most delightful of the view painters was the Baroness Hyde de Neuville, wife of the French minister to the United States. Although foreign born and for seven years (1807–1814) resident exiles in New York and New Jersey, the Baron and his wife became so intimate a part of the Capital's life during the six years of his ministry, from 1816 through 1822, that it is difficult to think of them as other than Washingtonians. Even the restrained John Quincy Adams waxed warmly about them in his private journals: "[The Baron's] conduct . . . has been unexceptional, his private life irreproachable, and his social . . . relations with the various classes of people exemplary. His wife is a woman of excellent temper, amiable disposition, unexceptionable propriety of demeanor, profuse charity, yet of judicious economy and sound discretion. No foreign Minister who ever resided here has been so universally esteemed and beloved. . . ."[22]

Free of the conventions and the elevated aspirations of the trained artist, the Baroness delighted in recording the life around her and the Baron: their house on F Street, near 15th, for example; Rhodes Tavern and the State Department building across the way; Washington's tomb at Mt. Vernon. Her painting of the savage war dance performed in late 1821 by visiting Indian delegations before President Monroe on the White House lawn is as strangely hypnotic as was the dance for its astounded and even horrified onlookers. Most appealing is her 1821 view of Lafayette Square (Fig. 7), looking south toward the White House, which is shown flanked by the handsome late-Georgian buildings housing the departments of State and Treasury, to the left, and of War and Navy, to the right. Such unambitious, attractive honesty has seldom been seen in Washington art.

Much more indicative of the broadening stream of artistic genres and of the nationalistic cultural awakening that followed the War was

Fig. 7. Baroness Hyde de Neuville (c. 1779–1849), *The White House & Lafayette Square*, 1821, watercolor, 5¾ × 9⅝ in. I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection, Art, Prints and Photographs Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

the commission given by the Congress in 1817 to John Trumbull to paint murals for four of the eight niches that Benjamin Latrobe projected for the forthcoming Rotunda of the Capitol. The 12- by- 18-foot murals—part of a larger series that Trumbull had projected for what he called the *Hall of the Revolution*—commemorate the struggle for independence, and include, in the order in which they were completed: *The Declaration of Independence* (1817–1819); *The Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown* (1819–1820); *The Surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga* (1820–1821); and *The Resignation of Washington* (1822–1824). Painted at Trumbull's studio in New York (a reflection on inadequate facilities, among other things, at the Capital), the murals were triumphantly exhibited there, then in Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, in addition to other cities, before arriving in Washington.[23]

If nothing else, the murals inspired debate all along the way. On seeing the *Declaration* (Fig. 8) in New York in 1818, John Quincy Adams recorded, "I cannot say I was disappointed . . . because my expectations were very low; but the picture is immeasurably below the dignity of the subject." In Washington, the paintings at least drew some balanced if scant praise, but also their most devastating criticism. Viewing the four murals finally placed in the Rotunda in 1826, one writer to the press sensibly noted the inadequacy of the rooms in which they formerly had been displayed, and added, "Colonel Trumbull has at least the merit of having preserv'd these precious memorials of the men, the manners, and the scenes of that period, which will be regarded by posterity as the most illustrious and important in human history." In contrast to these faint compliments were the remarks made on the floor of the Congress by John Randolph of Roanoke. Randolph had strongly favored Trumbull's original commission, but when the artist sought another in 1828 to complete the series, the congressman, his ire no doubt fueled by his sense of culpability, rose and said:

I protest against the whole of these paintings. . . . I hardly ever passed through that avanue [sic] *(the Rotundo) to this Hall . . . without feeling shamed of the state of the Arts in this country; and, as the*

Fig. 8. John Trumbull (1756–1843), *The Declaration of Independence in Congress, at the Independence Hall, Philadelphia, July 4th, 1776*, 1817–19, oil on canvas, 144 × 216 in. Architect of the Capitol.

pieces of the great masters of art have, among the cognoscenti, acquired a sort of nom de guerre, so ought . . . the Declaration of Independence to be called the Shin-piece; for, surely, never was there, before, such a collection of legs submitted to the eyes of man.[24]

Unfortunately the label "Shin-piece" has stuck ever since.

Despite the legitimate criticisms that might be leveled at Trumbull's murals, it is difficult to judge them fairly. They were, it must be remembered, enlargements of his superb initial studies, for the most part completed years earlier. By 1817 John Trumbull was sixty-one years old and his monocular vision was hardly conducive to work on a large scale. Nonetheless the murals are a commendable achievement, especially in the sense of scale they establish and in the air of classical heroism and restraint they lend, appropriately, to the vast space of the Rotunda. In addition, they constitute the first substantial governmental patronage of monumental painting, the implications of which reverberated throughout the century and even to the present.

Paradoxically, although the Trumbull murals inspired further caution in the Congress in respect to dealing with artists—*genus irritabile*, as John Randolph called them—the partially finished series demanded completion. When that was accomplished in the 1840s, the notable qualities of Trumbull's works could better be discerned, and must have been a measure against which the other, younger artists were constrained to work. Moreover, Trumbull's phenomenal success in gaining a munificent federal commission for history paintings—$32,000, or $8,000 per mural, a fabulous sum in those days—set a precedent which many an artist hoped to emulate in following him to the "Central Spot," as one unimaginative versifier labeled the Capital. In 1816, it may be recalled, the Pennsylvania Academy of The Fine Arts

had paid Washington Allston only $3,500 for his extraordinary (and equally large) painting *The Dead Man Restored*. . . .

Apart from the exertions of individuals, some efforts were made in the direction of establishing institutions with some concern for the arts. Following the lead of Charles Willson Peale and Thomas Jefferson, the then resident Joel Barlow, with the assistance of Jefferson, devised a plan for a great national university at the Capital in which the arts would play a significant role, but legislation for it died in committee. Although more auspicious in its beginning in 1816, the Columbian Institute for the Promotion of Arts and Sciences was already moribund by the early 1820s. Nevertheless, the group had begun a modest museum program in which objects of art were collected, these represented by the inevitable casts, but also some antique sculpture, and drawings and prints. The "Washington Museum" established in 1812 by the Masonic Lodge of Alexandria was apparently more successful and of greater duration, but it was wholly committed to collecting memorabilia of George Washington. Some literary groups arose as well, the "Bread and Cheese Club" and the "Washington Literary Institute," although their impact seems to have been negligible.[25]

There were other activities at the Capital which indicate that art impulses had life if not form among the local community. For example, numerous attempts were made to establish commercial museums and schools where art might be exhibited and taught. Of the former, not the least significant was Joseph Delaplaine's proposal to move from Philadelphia to the Capital, his National Gallery of Portraits which he advertised as "An extensive Gallery of Portraits [they were painted from life by the best artists of the day], several paintings of different subjects, and a large collection of Engravings, embracing the Shakespeare Gallery complete, of two hundred illustrative and historical subjects." Delaplaine's hope was to receive "suitable encouragement," obviously meaning federal support, which, of course, did not come. More successful was the painting school opened in 1818 by the local artist Pietro Bonanni at the home of his countryman, Giovanni Andrei, near City Hall.[26]

Bonanni is of more than passing interest in that he was part of the sizeable colony of Italian artists working and residing at the Capital. Most were sculptors, some of whom had early been recruited by Latrobe at the suggestion of Jefferson, through Filippo Mazzei. Noting in a letter written to Mazzei in 1805 that the "country was entirely destitute of artists and . . . good workmen in . . . architecture," Latrobe discussed his need for a "good sculptor of architectural decorations," and a helper to carve, among other things, twenty-four monumental Corinthian capitals. Wages, he added, would be $2.50 to $3.00 daily, and he insisted that the artists be of "good temper and good morals," and preferrably "single."[27]

The first to come, in 1806, were Giovanni Andrei and Giuseppe Franzoni. They were followed, in 1815, by Giuseppe Valaperta and Antonio Capellano, and in 1816, by Carlo Franzoni and Francesco Iardella, and, lastly, in 1817, by the painter Bonanni. Except for Capellano, who retired to Florence in "Uno piccolo pallazzo," according to Rembrandt Peale, all of these artists lived and died in Washington, oddly enough at rather youthful ages. (Valaperta disappeared in 1817 and is thought to have committed suicide.)

As a group these artists created some of the finest of the decorative art at the Capitol: Andrei carved many of the capitals; Giuseppe Franzoni and Iardella carved the ingenious "corncob" and "tobacco-leaf" capitals designed by Latrobe; Valaperta's great eagle still hovers over the south door of the Old House; Carlo Franzoni's greatest contribution is the allegorical *Car of History* over the north door of the Old House, and clearly seen in Samuel F.B. Morse's depiction of the Hall (1822); Capellano designed and executed several relief panels, among them *Captain John Smith & Pocahontas*, in the Rotunda; and Bonanni decorated the ceiling of the Old House.

Highly skilled and well schooled in Old World methods, this group of artists undoubtedly lent an air of professionalism, stability, and artistic cohesion to an otherwise incomprehensible constancy of change. Indeed, the artistic credo to which they uniformly adhered was classicist, as can be seen in the striking portrait of Carlo Franzoni (Fig. 9) painted by Pietro Bonanni in 1818. As the finest painter of the community at the time, Bonanni might have engendered a local tradition had he not died so prematurely. Still, although he and his compa-

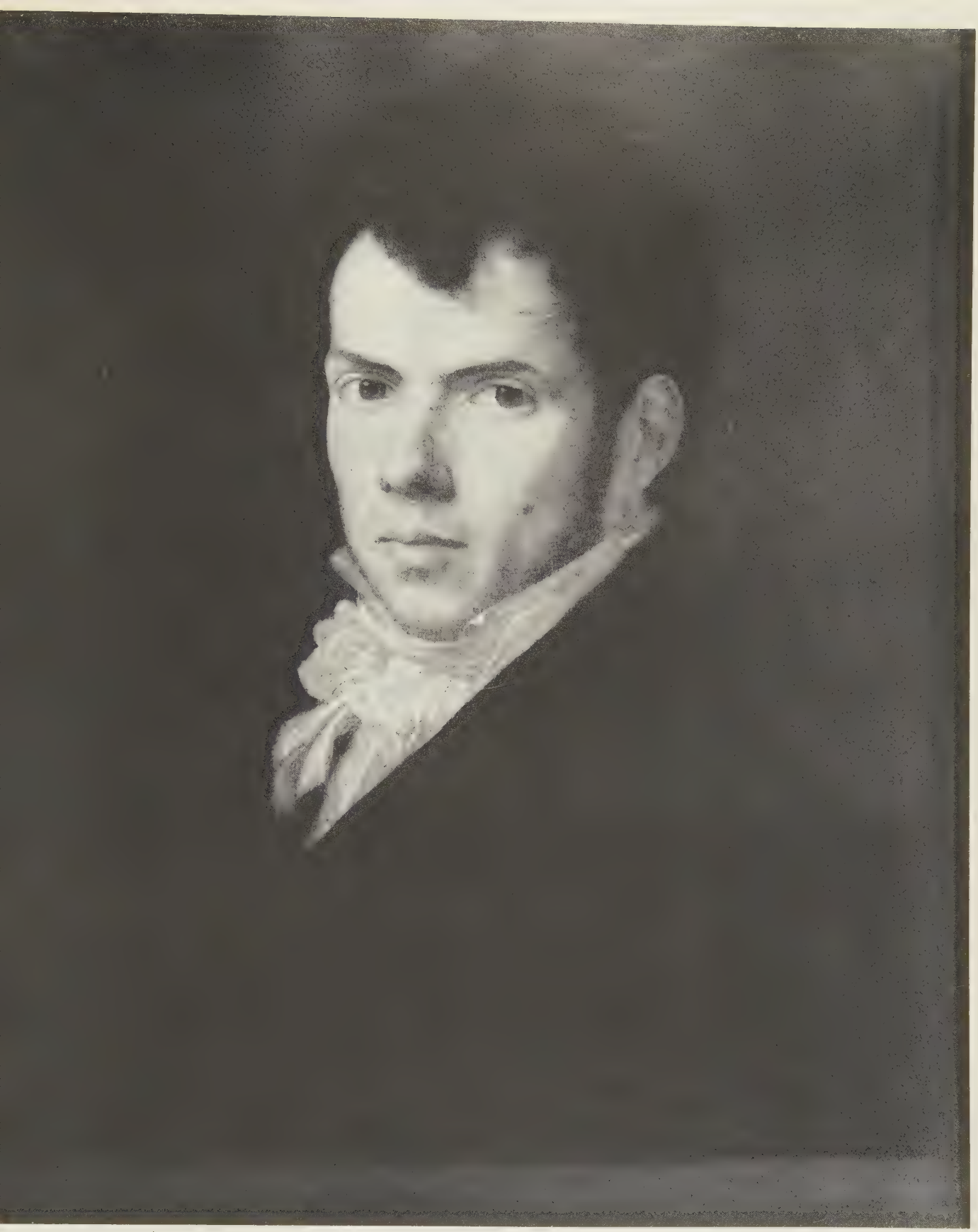


Fig. 9. Pietro Bonanni (1789–1821), *Carlo Franzoni,* 1818, oil on canvas, 19 × 15 in. Architect of the Capitol.

Fig. 10. Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827), *Noah and His Ark*, 1819, oil on canvas, 40¼ × 50¾ in. Pennsylvania Academy of The Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

See ★ p. 37 re: Peale Copied Chas. Catton's Noah + Ark !

triots were well considered in the community, perhaps the increasing dissatisfaction with the presence of "foreign" artists felt by those of "American" stock would not have augured well for that possibility.

While there were no auction houses or art galleries as they are understood today, newspaper advertisements suggest there was at least a modicum of sales and exhibitions occurring, and although pitifully little is known of them, some appeared to have been of considerable interest. In 1818, for example, Mrs. Joel Barlow, the mistress of "Calorama" died, and the sale of her estate, in October, included fine prints and paintings in addition to choice furniture brought from abroad. Earlier that year, too, Bonanni raffled off a painting he had done of President Monroe, a not uncommon practice in those days. One of the more interesting sales—perhaps because the notice is quite specific about it—was that held at Peabody's in August 1819; among other objects were "3 elegant oil paintings; View of Mason's Island, from George Town; West view of the George Town College and a portrait of Pope Pius 7th." Unfortunately no artists' names are given.[28]

Exhibitions were equally sporadic and were held in any place possible: artists' studios most often, which they rented or had built on rare occasions, as Gilbert Stuart did; homes, museums, and, as much as anywhere, at rooms in the Capitol as Trumbull did with his murals, and as many more artists were to do later. One example indicates that the townsfolk occasion-

ally could enjoy seeing works other than portraits, which abounded. In 1813, at Mr. Estep's house on the Avenue, for instance, one could view for fifty cents a panorama of the principal cities, ports, and harbors of the nation: Charleston, Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston—a tour of some dimensions![29]

Along with the record of sales and exhibitions, one area of inquiry that would reward systematic study and that would illuminate our understanding of art life at the Capital is that of privately owned collections, which must have been considerable. Well known, for example, is the generous number of Stuarts, Fields, Peales, and Saint-Mémins owned by the more prominent residents of long standing. What is not well known, however, is what other types of pictures may have been privately owned. The Barlow collection of prints and paintings brought from France must have been varied as well as notable, and, no doubt as with most early collections in the country, comprised largely of European works. Most tantalizing is the cryptic reference made by D.B. Warden to the collection of George Calvert of Bladensburg, who had in the "Saloon" of his attractive mansion "some fine paintings, particularly Noah's Ark, by Velvet Breughell [*sic*], the Judgment of Paris, and the portrait of Rubens, by this great master, of whom Mrs. Calvert is a relation."[30]

Surely, one might expect that at the seats of other notables of the city and its environs—General John Mason of Analostan; Mrs. Crawford of "Greenwood" in Anacostia; the Colonel John Tayloes of Octagon House; and the Thomas Peter family of Tudor Place—there were generous collections as well. That such expectations are justified is found in the fact that in the collection of George Washington Parke Custis of Arlington House, that most distinguished of seats overlooking the Potomac and the Capital, there were the portrait of George Washington by Charles Willson Peale (1772), Sir Godfrey Kneller's portrait of Colonel Daniel Parke, and portraits by John Wollaston and Archibald Robertson, among others. An interesting occurrence that supports these expectations was Peale's copying Charles Catton's *Noah and His Ark* (Fig. 10), the original of which he borrowed from Colonel George Bomford, Catton's son-in-law, and the new master of "Calorama." Writing to sons Rembrandt and Titian in December 1819, Peale said, "The Original is an uncommon well-executed piece of work," and, "The minuteness of the finish of even the smallest of the animals astonished me. . . . I took some liberty in the copying, leaving out the enormous Elk on the left hand . . . & I substituted the American Buffalo in its place, & I added an Ass next to the Horse. . . ."[31]

Notwithstanding the large influx of artists in and out of the Capital during the first two decades of its existence, and to some extent because of this, a viable local art community had yet to be established. Unlike New York, Philadelphia, and later Boston, which early undertook to create formal institutions—the American Academy of Fine Arts (1802), the Pennsylvania Academy of The Fine Arts (1805), the Boston Athenaeum (1828)—that gave focus to cultural pursuits, Washington had none, and would not for decades to come.

Considering the deficiencies the Capital suffered (some might consider them advantages), its achievements in establishing an ambiance within which art could exist and flourish—as indeed it did—were commendable. In fact it is not too much to say that Washington served as a centripetal force in disseminating artistic as well as political ideas, deposited here by the most eminent artists of the nation, and literally carried in the way of pictures to the remotest parts of the land.

It was this very flux, however, dictated by the national role of the city, that constantly intruded on the local community's ability to nourish art, among other things, for itself, a condition that obtained for decades and which is still a potent factor in the city's life. No better expression of the pathos generated by the transient aspect of the Capital's life can be found than that written in 1824 by the sage Margaret Bayard Smith to her sister:

But it is natural that you . . . who are surrounded by so many dear friends and relatives, should not have so much leisure of the heart, *to think of me, as I have, who have no interests beyond my own family. I who live as it were in a land of strangers. To say this of a land where I have dwelt for 20 years seems strange and yet is true. The peculiar nature of Washington society makes it so. Had the intimate acquaintances I formed when I first came been continued, twenty years would have ripened them into friendship. But one after another have been separated by death, the ocean, or mountains and water . . . and some have been estranged by differing and conflicting politics.*[32]

Fig. 11. Charles Bird King, c. 1858. Mrs. John Murray.

Chapter II

THE EXPANSION OF ART AT THE CAPITAL, 1820–1850

In the summer of 1824 during one of his many visits to the Capital, Charles Willson Peale stopped at the studio of his friend Charles Bird King (Fig. 11) where he noted not only portraits, but "still life, landscapes, and emblematical pieces." Such a variety of genres was not commonly seen in those days, but King's varied taste was nurtured in England where he had studied with Benjamin West, and when he returned home King was in the forefront in employing new forms. Although he long insisted on labeling himself a "historical" as well as portrait painter (as did so many of those artists inspired by West's example), King actually favored still life in the seventeenth-century Dutch manner, and genre cast in the rustic Anglo-Dutch styles of John Opie and Sir David Wilkie, who were the rage while King was in London.[1]

After seven years as an itinerant hopping from Boston to Norfolk, Charles Bird King finally settled in Washington in the winter of 1819–1820, succumbing to the security that a steady stream of portrait commissions offered. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, for example, employed him regularly to paint portraits of the many Indian delegates to the Capital. Ultimately, King resided in Washington for more than forty years until his death in 1862, becoming the doyen of local artists as Charles Willson Peale and Thomas Sully were in Philadelphia, John Trumbull, Henry Inman, and Samuel Waldo and William Jewett in New York, and Gilbert Stuart and Washington Allston, in Boston. As those artists had done in their own cities, King, in his modest way, revolutionized art life in Washington. Not only was he a highly trained professional of acknowledged versatility and skill, unlike Clephane and Polk or even Wood, but he was also an entrepreneur, and, as John Quincy Adams said, "An ingenious thinking man, with a faculty of conversing upon almost any topic."[2]

King's entrepreneurial ambitions were especially crucial to the cultural life of the city. Following the example of Peale and of Edward Savage with whom he had studied in New York, King opened a studio-gallery-museum in the heart of the city where he lived, at the corner of 12th and F streets. For four decades his "Gallery of Paintings" was the focus of art life in Washington, so much so that the Senate designated it one of the Capital's singular attractions on its official map of 1852. Most importantly, King's establishment was the haven for many of the noted artists who came to the Capital during those years—Sully, Dunlap, Rembrandt Peale, George Healy, and Horatio Greenough, to name a few—and was a pivotal point in that circuit of galleries from Portland to Charleston where artists displayed those large exhibition pieces that became so prominent from the 1820s on, and upon which many an artist's survival depended.

How profoundly entertaining and essential to the art life of a city such galleries were before the age of commercial and public establishments is difficult for us to grasp, but may be sensed in the anticipation expressed by Charles Francis Adams on his visit to King's gallery in

the depths of winter 1824, and in his extended, perceptive remarks on what he saw:

This was so good an opportunity that I did not wish it lost. . . . The pictures, some of them are excellent, others only moderate and others bad. . . . He has some very sweet fruit pieces . . . some voluptuous pieces also which it would not do to notice before ladies. One in particular which appeared to be Joseph and the wife of Potiphar although we could not see for a veil which [we] attempted to raise, when we discovered the deception. It was very accurate.[3]

As Adams' observations indicate King's gallery consisted largely of paintings, more than 250 by 1848 according to George Watterston, who described the collection rather generously in his guide book for the Capital: "It is the only collection of paintings in this city, and though not very extensive, is equal if not superior to any in this country in beauty of coloring and skillfulness of execution." Most of the pictures, said a notice in the press, were "from his own fertile and laborious pencil." But there were other objects in the gallery as well: prints; and numerous "plaister figures," among them life-size busts of Washington, Adams, and Hamilton, anatomical figures, and full-length figures of Pluto and Cerberus, and of the Apollo Belvedere—the age's paradigm of male beauty. Of great importance also were the many large traveling exhibition pieces shown there, of which several should be mentioned: Sully's copy of Granet's *Capuchin Chapel* in 1825, and his portrait of the young *Queen Victoria* in 1839; Dunlap's *Christ Rejected*, and his *Bearing of the Cross* in 1825; in 1830 *The Landing of Lafayette at Cincinnati* by August Hervieu, the artist of the forlorn entourage of Mrs. Trollope; and, in 1835, George Cooke's copy of Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*, which Cooke hoped some clergyman would pronounce "a good moral painting," as that would result, he trusted, in greater crowds.[4]

Of the many paintings by himself that King exhibited at his gallery, *Young Omahaw, War Eagle, Little Missouri, and Pawnees* of 1822 (Fig. 12) is among his best. Composed and painted in a manner reminiscent of Van Dyck's multiple portrait *Charles I* (c. 1635), the painting is a compelling, romantic image of the principals of the large delegation of Plains Indians who visited the Capital in the winter of 1821, and about whom the English traveler William Faux wrote: "All of them were men of large stature, very muscular, having fine open countenances, with the real noble Roman nose, dignified in their manners, and peaceful and quiet in their habits." Not everyone was so impressed by the hundreds of Indians who came to the Capital to do obeisance to the "Great Father." In 1828 Margaret Bayard Smith wrote to her son that she had implored Secretary of War Porter to "use his authority and forbid the ferocious Winnebagos from assaulting the girls. . . . They have run after several . . . and others they have caught in their arms and kissed. . . . You have no idea, what a general dread they inspired." More virulent was Congressman Thomas T. More's attack on the spending of public money on portraits of "these wretches."[5]

No doubt More's reference was to the many portraits painted by Charles Bird King for the "Indian Gallery" established as early as 1817 by Thomas L. McKenney, chief of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Housed in the War Department building next to the White House, the gallery consisted of a remarkable array of ethnological artifacts as well as King's paintings which constituted the first government sponsored collections known. The Indian Gallery, like King's own, was an essential stop for visitors to the Capital, of whom Mrs. Trollope was one of the more astute. She found it of "great interest," concluding that the portraits by "Mr. King . . . are excellent likenesses, as are all I have ever seen from the hands of that gentleman."[6]

Although King continued to paint portraits for the Indian Gallery into the 1840s, its subsequent history was tragic. In 1841 it was put under the custody of the National Institute and housed in the new Patent Office Building. By 1858, however, the gallery was transferred to the Smithsonian Institution and placed in its new building on the Mall. Many of the artifacts had been dispersed by that time and King's portraits, combined with the large number of paintings of Indian life by John Mix Stanley, were exhibited on the second floor at the west end of the building, altogether an irreplaceable record of the American aborigine. Sadly, however, a fire at the Smithsonian in 1865 destroyed practically all of the paintings and a wealth of other treasured materials.[7]

Two other paintings by King reflect well the scope of his subject matter and his varied tal-

Fig. 12. Charles Bird King (1785–1862), *Young Omahaw, War Eagle, Little Missouri, and Pawnees,* 1822, oil on canvas, 28 × 36⅛ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Lent by Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

ents also. *The Itinerant Artist* and *The Anatomy of Art Appreciation, "The Vanity of the Artist's Dream,"* both of about 1830, owe much to Anglo-Dutch sources. *The Itinerant Artist* (Fig. 13) is undoubtedly biographical, with the balding artist steadfastly holding forth in a contrived rustic setting, á la Wilkie, and is a good example of King's penchant for light-hearted subject matter—of the sort later encouraged by the American Art-Union.

Quite unlike the *Itinerant*, the *Vanity* (Pl. I) emphasizes ideas and, along with its earlier pendant *Poor Artist's Cupboard* (c. 1815), derives from the seventeenth-century Dutch "Vanitas" picture, whose sensual imagery traditionally reflecting on the five senses is the vehicle for its moral message. However, instead of reflecting on the transience of life and the futility of human endeavors (and therefore on the preeminence of the spiritual life) as the traditional "Vanitas" does, King's *Vanity* deplores the poverty of the arts in America and the consequent difficulties of the artist—not to be taken literally in King's case, as he was quite affluent. Unique in the annals of early American art, the *Vanity* (p. 11) and the *Cupboard* convey powerful indictments of American indifference to cultural pursuits, a theme played upon by such writers as Washington Irving and James Fennimore Cooper as well.

As might be expected a number of aspiring local artists sought King's teaching and guid-

Fig. 13. Charles Bird King (1785–1862), *The Itinerant Artist*, c. 1830, oil on canvas, 44¾ × 57 in. New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown.

ance, the most important of whom were John Gadsby Chapman, George Cooke, and John Cranch. Because of his stature in the art community, King's opinion was counted highly also. President John Quincy Adams, for example, appointed him to the first governmental art commission, along with Dr. William Thornton and Colonel George Bomford, to judge the entries for the sculptural design of the pediment on the east front of the Capitol. Moreover, King's becoming personality made him, as Dunlap noted, a "great favorite" of the Capital's social elite, many of whom sought his presence at the frequent "squeezes" and balls that were held at the slightest provocation. At two of the more sumptuous masquerades the "picturesque" King appeared dressed, appropriately enough, as Rembrandt and Rubens.[8]

While Charles Bird King was unquestionably the dominant force among local artists for several decades, his efforts constituted only a part of the increasingly varied art life of the community, which, in turn, partook of that great cultural effloresence in the West brought on by the "Metternichan" peace. These were the years when the frontiersmen of a relatively secure America pushed westward to fill the vast reaches of the Louisiana basin and beyond, when entrepreneurs laid the foundations for the great fortunes of the post-Civil War period, and when artists forged the ideology and subject matter of new art forms, largely rooted in an apotheosis of a raw yet beneficent nature.

In the process of fashioning laws and institu-

tions to cope with the explosive growth of the country, the federal government developed needs which attracted to Washington a wide variety of artists, most of whom were transient, of course, but also a number of whom stayed to become residents. Thus during the several decades from 1820 to 1850 one could find at the Capital, in addition to the talented King, history and subject painters, landscapists, primitives, explorer-artists, many portraitists, graphic artists, and large numbers of architects, sculptors, and stonecutters.

As significant as these cultural developments were, they could not obscure the herculean problems that faced the Capital city and which can only be alluded to here. The Washington and C & O Canals on which so many pinned their hopes and fortunes for establishing a self-sustaining economic base for the city were utter failures. And the great social and physical ills that increasingly plagued the city—the bitterly debated slavery question (especially the sale of slaves on the very steps of the Capitol); the great influx of the poor; the lack of municipal water, sanitary, and public school systems; the unpaved and unlighted streets (Pennsylvania Avenue itself was macadamized only in the late 1830s); the roving animals among the as yet undrained and odiously swampy portions of the city, especially about the White House and Capitol—could almost entirely be laid at the feet of a preoccupied and, some would argue, indifferent Congress. As Samuel Southard lamented in his report of 1835 to the Congress on the conditions of the Capital: "The city [has] pecuniary obligations . . . *utterly impossible* [to satisfy] . . . unaided by Congressional legislation."[9]

Its ills notwithstanding, the city had its charms: that enduring arcadian aspect born of the beautiful rivers and creeks and umbrageous rolling hills that traversed and surrounded it; its heroically scaled federal buildings, especially the impressive new Treasury and Patent Office buildings begun in the thirties; and above all its intimate society and setting. Though spatially extensive, the city was sparsely populated and was comparable to a small village, with its life centered on Pennsylvania Avenue, Lafayette Square, and the F Street ridge, all between the Capitol and the White House. Most of the local elite and visiting dignitaries lived within this limited range—exclusive of those few who had country seats—and, judging from their memoirs, kept up a lively and graceful society.

Even artists were swept up in the social tide—Peale comments frequently on the gaiety of the city, and King was very much a part of it—to the extent that it was commonplace for them not only to paint portraits of presidents and other dignitaries, but also to dine with them! King, for instance, personally knew the Madisons, the Monroes, the Adamses, Andrew Jackson, and James K. Polk, by most of whom he was socially entertained. Indeed, it was many a decade before bureaucracy, gigantism, and specialization dissipated the peculiar intimacy that obtained at the Capital for much of its existence.

Despite the differentiation that began to develop within American painting, at the Capital the federal presence continued to dominate the direction art took skewing it irresistibly toward history painting as well as portraiture to a degree unparalleled elsewhere. Beguiled by John Trumbull's success, and no doubt Rembrandt Peale's with his *Court of Death*, the rapidly multiplying breed of history painters flocked to the Capital to seek commissions or to display their wares in the Rotunda or in rooms at the Capitol, both of which were free and apparently readily accessible given some little political intervention.

The classic case is the experience of Samuel F. B. Morse who spent two years in Washington painting and parading his masterful work *The Old House of Representatives* (1822) whose purchase the government rejected. It is interesting to note that Morse included in the painting several observers in the balcony of the House, on the right, behind the *Car of History*: the person to the left is unidentified; second from left is the artist's father, the Reverend Jedidiah Morse; next to him is Benjamin Silliman, professor of science at Yale; and to the far right the Loup Pawnee Petalesharro, a member of the 1821 delegation—together symbolizing perhaps Religion, Science, and Nature observing the democratic process. Following the accepted practice of incorporating borrowed images in one's painting, Morse used King's recently completed portrait of Petalesharro as the basis for his own, one of several instances in which the resident painter's portraits, especially those of Indians, were employed by other artists.

Two local artists who represent as well as any

Fig. 14. George Cooke (1793–1849), *City of Washington From Beyond the Navy Yard*, 1833, oil on canvas, 18 × 25 in. White House Collection.

the increasing versatility required of artists of the age, the agonies and frustrations of a highly competitive vocation, and the potential glory possible in pursuit of history painting were George Cooke and John Gadsby Chapman. Both were students of King's, who no doubt whetted their appetite for the great challenges of history (though he himself wisely eschewed them). As Dunlap reports, King was Cooke's "first instructor," teaching him "by precept and example without fee or reward;" and Chapman, inspired by the example of Cooke, to whose wife he was related, sought King's guidance also, obtaining from him "some plaster casts" with which he "commenced his study of drawing."[10]

In the late 1820s both artists went abroad to study, not to England in which interest had largely died with Benjamin West, but to the Continent and especially to Florence and Rome. The hoary antiquity, rich artistic heritage, and ease of existence of these cities attracted an international cortege of artists which has hardly been rivaled since, and which permitted the rapid exchange of ideas and especially the reinforcement of the pursuit of history painting, still considered the highest ideal of art forms.

There Cooke and Chapman also absorbed the ever beguiling landscape traditions of Claude and Rosa—the one "beautiful" and arcadian, the other "sublime" and wild—concurrently working their magic on the Hudson River school artists who combined those traditions with a native eye for the literal as well as pantheistic tendencies to create a unique aesthetic. Almost none of the latter, however, is to be seen in Cooke's appealing but essentially topographic *City of Washington From Beyond the*

Fig. 15. John Gadsby Chapman (1808–1889), *Threshing Wheat on the Campagna*, 1868, oil on canvas, 14⅛ × 36¼ in. Cleveland Museum of Art, The Hinman B. Hurlbut Collection.

Navy Yard of 1833 (Fig. 14) or, for that matter, in Chapman's *Threshing Wheat on the Campagna* of 1868 (Fig. 15).

Indeed, the Hudson River aesthetic seems almost entirely to have bypassed Washington artists, though echoes of it were imported now and again in the fifties and sixties. Yet, Chapman's landscape, and the hundreds of small anecdotal souvenir scenes he painted for tourists during his long expatriation in Italy shared with later Hudson River school paintings that range of rich, delicate color, sense of quiescence, and transcendental light that were the common patrimony of the period, emanating largely out of Germany and Italy. The power and novelty of these qualities are nicely expressed in Henry Tuckerman's comments on Chapman's *Pines of the Villa Barberini*: "Fine in perspective and in what I must venture to term silent color, the light which sleeps, as it were, on every object in a still summer noon."[11]

The rhetorical idealism that Cooke and Chapman imbibed in Italy—and for which as Southerners they may have had a peculiar propensity powerfully inculcated by artistic as well as by political traditions of that region (Allston perhaps being the tragic exemplar)—is best seen in their history paintings. They exhibited large numbers of these in the late 1830s and early 1840s at the various art establishments in New York—the American Academy, the Apollo Association and Art-Union, and the National Academy of Design, and titles such as *Disembarkment of Cleopatra at Tarsus* by Cooke and *Hagar Fainting in the Wilderness* by Chapman reflect the popular if heavy-handed themes of the day. The rather saccharin but nonetheless dramatic idealism of the *Hagar* (Fig. 16) in fact echoes the tone of much of the classically oriented history painting of the period as seen also in the work of Daniel Huntington and Henry Peters Gray.

Both Cooke and Chapman, it might be added, served themselves and the community well through the many copies they made abroad of much heralded works, such as Guido Reni's *Martyrdom of St. Peter* by Chapman, and Cooke's copy of Théodore Géricault's gigantic *Raft of Medusa*. "Old Masters" were not yet easily available in those days, so even a good copy was both educational and delightful to behold. Further, these were among the types of paintings which drew paying crowds by which means artists struggled to support their endeavors, and, most importantly, by which they could exhibit those skills they had acquired, requisite for the large, munificent commissions they anticipated receiving at home—especially at the Capital.

An example of the machinations that artists had to indulge in to achieve their goals of survival and fame is sounded in a letter written in 1830 by "Columbus" (probably an artist) to the *National Intelligencer* in respect to Cooke's work:

It affords me much pleasure to observe, that Mr. Cook's [sic] *justly celebrated pictures, now on exhibition at Mr. Harding's rooms [in Washington],*

Fig. 16. John Gadsby Chapman (1808–1889), *Hagar Fainting in the Wilderness*, 1853, oil on canvas, 55 × 41½ in. The Lloyd House, Alexandria Association, Alexandria, Virginia.

attract a constant throng of visitors and elicit the admiration of the lovers of good painting. The artist is an American, and a native of the District of Columbia [not exactly true], and these productions of his pencil reflect great credit upon his genius and industry, and are highly honorable to our country. I was particularly delighted with the painting of the interior *of St. Peter's Church at Rome. . . . The "Conspiracy of Cataline," . . . a very fine copy from Salvator Rosa, . . . is also on exhibition . . . without extra charge. . . .*

Under the most discouraging auspices, the arts of this country have made rapid advances towards honorable distinction and durable fame. Our native artists have had to encounter a most unwarrantable prejudice . . . their productions . . . absolutely cried down as the puerile efforts of an incipient genius, altogether too domestic *to entitle the artist to that reward which would gratify and stimulate his ambition, and encourage his future exertions, the* old cast off *rubbish of some foreign dauber, the 'Time-Worn relics of departed arts,' are* re-smoked, re-varnished, *and exhibited to the* admiring *gaze of a* liberal, judicious, *and* wonder struck multitude *. . . who 'leave living Genius to despair!'*[12]

The letter is typical of the exaggerated and not altogether accurate claims made by artists, and is also a harbinger of the strident chauvinism that increasingly infected the arts as well as politics, particularly at the seat of government where politics was, after all, at the heart of all activity.

Like most artists with pretensions in the field of history painting, George Cooke and John Gadsby Chapman cherished the hope of gaining one of the four bitterly contested commissions which Congress was about to mete out to complete the series of Rotunda paintings begun by Trumbull in 1817. All the contending artists sought the most powerful interventions they could muster. Cooke claimed, in a letter of 1834, to have "the support of Clay and Webster, with several other Northern men and nearly all the South." Yet, perhaps because he was backed by the anti-Jacksonian Senator Willie P. Mangum, and perhaps because he was considered inferior as an artist, Cooke lost out to Chapman who was backed by the powerful pro-Jacksonian Congressman from Virginia, General Henry A. Wise, and to the "outsiders" Henry Inman, John Vanderlyn, and Robert W. Weir.[13]

In his endless peregrinations thereafter, Cooke was more than fortunate in gaining the favor of Daniel Pratt, one of the first of the country's millionaire industrialists. Pratt sponsored Cooke's "National Gallery of Paintings" in New Orleans where, from 1844 to 1849, the artist exhibited his own works and, following in the footsteps of his mentor King, those of artist friends such as Chapman, Thomas Cole, Thomas Doughty, and Sully. Further, in 1845, in one of the most remarkable tributes paid an artist, Pratt added a gallery to his mansion in Prattville, Alabama, to house Cooke's many paintings. In addition, he commissioned the artist to enlarge his painting of the interior of St. Peter's (Fig. 17) as Cooke wrote, "To fill one end of it [the gallery], fifteen by twenty three feet, so that when you enter the door the whole church with its arches and collonades [*sic*] in perspective will appear as in nature." At last, Cooke's penchant for fame through history painting in the large was assuaged, even if only in the last years of his all too brief life.[14]

In contrast to Cooke's, Chapman's life and luck were much more extended. When Chapman had received the Rotunda commission in 1837, the prize compensated for years of anxiety that the artist (and many other competitors like him) had felt, and which he could not forget. Begun in 1837 in a specially built studio in New York, the *Baptism of Pocahontas at Jamestown, Virginia, 1613* (Fig. 18) was completed at Washington in James Clephane's barn on G Street between 12th and 13th, where Sully saw it, only two blocks from King's studio. In a pamphlet written in 1840, Peter Force gives a detailed description of the mural, noting the strenuous efforts of the artist to attain historical accuracy: "In the execution of the picture, the artist has been governed by the best authorities, as to facts and details, and has made all the research within his power in England, as well as our own country, for information with regard to the subject, and in some points he may have sacrificed the picturesque for the sake of historical truth, to which he has endeavored to adhere."[15]

The "authorities" used included—in addition to Jacobean costumes, armor, and furniture studied in England—contemporary descriptions of Pocahontas, of seventeenth-century Jamestown, and of remaining architectural evidence as nearly as possible related to the chapel in which the ceremony took place. For some of the figures, friends and even passers-by served

Fig. 17. George Cooke (1793–1849), *Interior of St. Peter's*, 1847, oil on canvas, 204 × 282 in. University of Georgia, Athens.

as models. Henry Clay Hallowell recalled, for example, that during one of his father's many visits to Chapman's studio, the artist asked him to pose with the large, heavy breastplate of Governor Dale: "Mr. Chapman said . . . there were not many men of sufficient size and strength to stand up with it on them. Father's height was six feet and one inch, and in those days he weighed nearly two hundred pounds. He was exceedingly strong." More critical perhaps was the question of authenticity in the representation of Indian types. Here Chapman used King's portraits of various Indian delegates to the Capital, particularly those of the 1821 group—notwithstanding the fact that they were Plains rather than Coastal Indians. In fact, Chapman owned and exhibited at the National Academy of Design, at the very time he began the mural, King's group portrait of *Young Omahaw, War Eagle, Little Missouri, and Pawnees* (Fig. 12) as well as that of *Hayne Hudjihini*, or "Eagle of Delight" (1822), the comely teenaged-wife of the handsome and daring Oto chieftain Shaumonekusse. Reflections of Hudjihini can be seen in the countenance of Pocahontas, and of Young Omahaw, in the figures of Nantequaus, and others. Even the mother and child at the far right owe something to King's portrait of *Mohongo and Child*, which he had painted in 1830.[16]

As with Trumbull's murals, the responses to the *Pocahontas* varied. One writer to the *National Intelligencer* in 1840 complained of several features, including the visage of Pocahontas and the subject as well: "There is clearly a want of grace in the attitude and of expression in the countenance. Her features are neither beautiful nor exactly Indian; nor does her bust possess that elegance and gracefulness of outline which characterizes female beauty . . . . The subject

Fig. 18. John Gadsby Chapman (1808–1889), *Baptism of Pocahontas at Jamestown, Virginia, 1613*, 1837–40, oil on canvas, 144 × 216 in. Architect of the Capitol.

appears to me to have been an unfortunate one for an historical painting, being more local and individual than national. . . ." Another criticized even the sweet sentiment that pervades the scene and which was so prominent in the Victorian period. A third, however, sang the praises of the mural: "I am far from being a religious man, but my nature is bowed down when that consecrated scene is presented to me. . . . It is all masterly, powerful and just." Recent criticism suggests Chapman's skills were more attuned to the small-scale illustration and inadequate to the large-scale mural, a weakness that becomes evident, ironically, when *Pocahontas* is compared to the surrounding murals by Trumbull. Nevertheless, time has proven Chapman's achievement was considerable, and a recent cleaning of *Pocahontas* seems to demand a reassessment of the work, and gives some substance to what a contemporary wrote in 1840: "The coloring is superb, I do not mean gaudy . . . but . . . warm, pervading, soft, correct."[17]

Chapman's achievements subsequent to completion of the mural in 1840 were notable. They include two of his most enduring works: the 1,400 original graphic illustrations for the lavish, massive Harper's *Illuminated Bible* (1846), and his oft-reissued, highly regarded *American Drawing Book* (1847–1858). Yet, as happened with the works of so many well-known artists of the nineteenth century, Chapman's accomplishments passed into oblivion even within the District, until the 1960s when there was a revival of interest in him. It is instructive to note the reaction of the Washington *Star's* art critic to a modest exhibition of Chapman's work held in 1962:

In the ground floor galleries where late the sweet birds sang in the Chatsworth drawings, the National Gallery of Art has seen fit to install a large exhibition of paintings, drawings and prints of the 19th-century American John Gadsby Chapman. This, to make an old saying older, is going from the sublime to the ridiculous.

Serious consideration of John Gadsby Chapman as an artist is so ridiculous that the main question the show confronts us with is not 'What is Chapman's merit?' but rather 'How on earth could the eminently respectable, even rather staid, National Gallery have crawled out on such a frail and trembling limb?'[18]

That an objective view of the merits of American art (taken for granted now), let alone Washington art, should have survived such intemperate sarcasm is nothing short of miraculous.

Despite the increasing diversity of art forms being practiced at the Capital, portraiture was still the artist's staple. King, for example, depended heavily on portrait commissions to support his penchant for painting subject pictures and to support his elaborate establishment through which, in turn, he was able to assist dozens of other artists. For years to come, in short, there was a symbiotic relationship among picture types, essential to their existence.

As ever, the best-remembered portraitists working in Washington from the 1820s to the 1850s, aside from King, Chapman, and Cooke, are transients who continued to loom large on the local scene. Trumbull and John Vanderlyn continued to come; Sully came frequently, often staying at his friend King's, as did Rembrandt Peale for whom Washington must have seemed a second home. Indeed, in early 1823 when he exhibited his famous *Court of Death*, Peale had a special building erected at 11th Street and the Avenue, and in the following year he was encouraging if not himself writing articles about the unique, most "true to nature" character of his "Porthole" portrait of Washington. The latter was exhibited in the "President's chamber" next to the Senate, and in 1832 was purchased for the Senate Gallery.[19] Among other artists who came now and again to the Capital, were the brash "backswoodsman" Chester Harding, and the reserved young artists Asher B. Durand and Eastman Johnson. In addition, numerous miniaturists and silhouettists came: Eliza Bayne, Anson Dickinson, and Auguste Edouart, among others.

With so continuous a stream of artists coming in and out of the Capital, it is clear why local portraitists are mostly forgotten. Of course there were not so many of the latter, and they also tended to move on eventually. Moreover, although the quality of their work is commendable, it does not in fact rival that of the justly famous painters. Among the best of the local portraitists was John Cranch, the son of Judge William Cranch who in 1801 was appointed by his first cousin John Quincy Adams to the Circuit Court of the District, and in 1805, chief justice of that court by Thomas Jefferson. Adams described his young cousin John Cranch as having a "strong natural propensity" for art which he satisfied by studying first with King, then Chester Harding, and before going to Italy in 1830, with Sully. Not surprisingly Cranch's inclinations were toward history painting, many of which he exhibited with the Washington Art Association in later years, but most of which are unlocated.[20]

Cranch's portraits, such as his *John Marshall*, are powerfully direct in the manner of Harding, though they may owe something to the tenets of simplicity and honesty inherent in Swedenborgianism to which Cranch (and many other artists) subscribed. Rather more cosmopolitan is the portrait of his father (Fig. 19) painted in 1845. Beautifully composed and subtly colored, the painting was reported by the *National Intelligencer* in 1855 to be in Cranch's studio in the Adams Express Building, and to be "A very faithful portrait of that eminent jurist and sage, Mr. Cranch."[21]

Two Washington artists whose works deserve closer study are Arthur J. Stansbury and Charles Fenderich, both of whom were among the first to introduce the art of lithography to the Capital. Stansbury is particularly interesting as his rather shadowy career was entwined with the earliest uses of lithography in this country—after Bass Otis first employed the medium in 1819.

Described as "something of a dilettante," Stansbury is said to have written and illustrated children's books and the *Elementary Catechism on the Constitution of the United States*, and to have been a preacher as well. His best-known works are his drawings for Goodrich's *Stranger's Guide* to New York and the attractive watercolor of the American Museum and City Hall of New York (1822). Of greater historic significance

Fig 19. John Cranch (1807–1891). *Judge William Cranch*. 1845. oil on canvas, 36 × 28 in United States District Court for the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 20. Arthur J. Stansbury (1781–after 1848) *John Quincy Adams*, 1848, lithograph with tintstone, 7¾ × 12³⁄₁₆ in. Attributed to Napoleon Sarony. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

were the drawings he did for one of the early important books on flowers published in this country, *The Grammer of Botany* (1822), printed by Barnet & Doolittle of New York, the first lithographic press in the United States.[22]

Exactly when Stansbury came to the Capital is not known, but in 1823 his drawing the *Plan of the Floor of the House of Representatives* was printed by Henry Stone of Washington, whose career as one of the first commercial lithographers in the country and the first in Washington also needs to be studied. Stansbury must have been employed for a long time as a writer-artist for the *National Intelligencer*, since drawings which he did for that paper span some twenty years. In 1829 Stansbury drew a witty caricature of the testy congressman from Roanoke, John Randolph, and in 1848 he drew the convincingly ghastly deathbed portrait of John Quincy Adams (Fig. 20)—"as he lay in the Speaker's room for a few hours before his death," according to the press. The portrait readily suggests that the artist may have been familiar with the morbid works of the French artist Géricault.[23]

Much more is known about Charles Fenderich, many of whose works are in the Library of Congress. After immigrating to Philadelphia in 1831, Fenderich was driven by the panic of 1837 to Washington, becoming the first of many important and highly skilled German artists to come to the Capital. He immediately advertised

Fig. 21. Charles Fenderich (1805–1887), *Joel Roberts Poinsett*, 1838, lithograph, 10 15/16 × 9 7/8 in. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; Transfer from the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

the opening of his "Lithographic Repository" on the Avenue between 10th and 11th streets, as well as his intention of publishing in quarterly issues, "Fenderich's Port-Folio of Living American Statesmen" to be drawn from life. As far as is known, only one of the twelve quarterly numbers projected, each to contain four portraits, was published. Nonetheless, before he went west with Joseph Bruff's Washington City and California Mining Association in 1849, Fenderich produced well over a hundred lithographic portraits during his twelve years in Washington.[24]

As can be seen in the lithograph of Secretary of War Joel Roberts Poinsett (Fig. 21) of 1838, Fenderich's portraits have a certain Teutonic clarity and energy. Those of Senator Lewis Cass (1848) (especially the preparatory drawing) and of Rudolph Hassler (1841), chief of the U.S. Coastal Survey, are eminently sympathetic as well as technically superb, with deep, rich blacks. Of particular interest are Fenderich's portraits of Peter Force (1848), one-time mayor of Washington; the Reverend Fathers James and John Donelan (1846, 1841), brothers and both rectors of St. Matthews Church; and the Reverend William Matthews (1841), rector of St. Patrick's Church; as well as the several views of the Capitol (1839), the design of the Washington Monument (1846), and the inauguration of William Henry Harrison (1841). Fenderich's contemporary Peter Haas ran a lithographic shop in Washington, too, but apparently was no artist himself, although he printed the works of various local artists.

Washington was (and is) probably unique in having consistently among its population hundreds of military people, many of whom were talented artists, and yet about whom little is known. One of the earliest of these was Captain William George Williams, a topographical engineer of notable reputation who had married America Peter of "Tudor Place" in Georgetown.

Despite the demands of his career, which led him from New York to South Carolina, and as far west as Wisconsin, Williams managed to paint portraits and occasionally to delineate scenes, of which his original for the print *View of the Ship Canal Around the Falls of the Niagara* (1838) is very attractive. Most appealing is his *Self-Portrait* (Fig. 22), whose romantic, Sully-esque qualities reveal a fine potential talent that unfortunately was snuffed out when Williams was killed in the Mexican War.[25]

Two other local portraitists at least deserve notice, although little is known of them. Samuel M. Charles, whose miniature *Andrew Jackson* (1836) is in the White House collection, assisted King in painting portraits of the Indians who flooded the Capital in the late 1830s. Eunice Makepeace Towle is best known for her portrait of President Van Buren, for whom her father was chief physician, and for those of Judge Laban Wheaton and family, founders of Wheaton College in Massachusetts. The forceful directness and pleasing naiveté of the latter works align Towle with the folk tradition and, as suggested in respect to John Cranch, may somehow have emanated from her Swedenborgian beliefs.[26]

The advent in Washington of artists such as Charles Fenderich and Peter Haas swelled the ranks of an already sizeable colony of "foreign" artists which from the 1830s on grew even more rapidly. Whether this was considered a blessing or a bane depended on the Zeitgeist which, as the half-century wore on, became increasingly more virulent in its nationalism and antiforeign sentiment. Some who came, if only briefly, were painters like Giuseppe Fagnani and William H. Franquinet, but, as was true from earlier days, most were figurative sculptors and generally they stayed. Of those who remained the most important were Enrico Causici, Luigi Persico, and Ferdinand Pettrich, two Italians and one German.

While a consideration of sculpture is beyond the scope of this study, it is important to recall that sculptors were very much a part of the artistic milieu, strengthening the generally classicistic bias at the Capital, but also intensifying the already overheated air of competition. Indeed, a brief essay into Pettrich's experiences in Washington is most revealing in respect to these conditions.

Born and trained in Dresden and having studied with Bertel Thorvaldsen in Rome, Ferdinand Pettrich came to Washington in 1836, certain he would succeed. However, in his first attempt in competing for a government commission—for the two colossal statuary groups to be placed on the blocks flanking the steps on the east side of the Capitol—Pettrich lost out to Persico and to Horatio Greenough, and in the process suffered (along with Persico) antiforeign criticism in the press.

Fig. 22. William George Williams (1801–1846), *Self-Portrait*, c. 1840, oil on canvas, 22¾ × 17½ in. (oval). Armistead Peter III.

As was always the case in these competitions, artists were backed by various factions, often, but not always, divided along political lines. Mostly out of sympathy, for example, Margaret Bayard Smith, wife of the founder of the *National Intelligencer*, led a coterie supporting Pettrich against Persico. In a revealing letter to her sister, written in March 1837, she said: "The choice of the Artist who is to do the work in the Capitol, is left to the President, and Persico and Pettrich are the competitors. Their friends are making all the interest they can, (for everything goes by favor). Mrs. Taylor [Tayloe] and I are the most zealous suitors on his [Pettrich's] behalf. She with the Presd——I with his bosom friend Mr. Butler [Attorney General]."[27]

After another dismal and costly failure in Philadelphia, Pettrich returned to Washington in 1841, having been given charge of erecting at the Capitol Horatio Greenough's gigantic statue of Washington, being shipped from Italy. Pettrich's contemplated design of a base for the statue was assailed by Boston "patriots," particularly as an unwarranted intrusion by a foreigner into a work by an American. More devastating was the near fatal attack on Pettrich recounted in the *National Intelligencer* of May 31, 1842:

An attempt at assassination . . . occurred last Sunday night about ten o'clock, in the first ward . . . not far from the Executive Mansion. Two assassins entered the studio of Mr. Pettrich . . . and after a severe struggle stabbed him in two places. This fiend-like and cowardly attack was made as it is thought, by two white men with their faces blacked. Mr. Pettrich received two stabs, on the left breast, and in the abdomen with a sword-cane or pointed instrument, which entered obliquely.[28]

Pettrich survived the attack, unprecedented in the annals of American or Washington art, and eventually left the country for Brazil.

Considerably more placid were the lives and work of George Washington Parke Custis and James Alexander Simpson, both of whom were primitive painters. Encouraged on the one hand by the enduring patriotic fervor of the Revolution, and on the other by the spirit of Jacksonian Democracy, these two artists typified the growing army of Everyman who tried his hand at art, and who elicited Stuart's sarcastic remark about painting having become so popular that under every rock could be found an artist. Nonetheless, the modern eye, at least, revels in the naive contrivances and shrewd observations of artists like Custis and Simpson, and their contemporaries elsewhere: Betsy B. Lathrop, Edward Hicks, Ammi Young, and Erastus Salisbury Field. How impoverished, in fact, would our art be without their contributions.

In terms of American society, George Washington Parke Custis was born, or at least raised, of the purple. The step-grandson (and adopted son) of George Washington, Custis saw life through and in that remarkable man's legendary character and achievements: eulogizing him at every opportunity; pursuing the rustic arts that Washington regretted he could not; and preserving the relics of Washington's life in the field and at home—his war tent and mess kit, his coach and his silverware. Yet Custis was his own man, a painter of charming naiveté, a dramatist of considerable skill.

As early as 1809, at the annual celebration in Alexandria of Washington's birth, Custis began painting large allegorical scenes, probably "illuminations" or transparencies, honoring the memory of Columbia's "departed Father." He did so again in 1810 and even in 1811, when for the "Arlington Shearings"—those fairs at which he, Dr. William Thornton, and others tried to encourage the use of the wool of native breeds of sheep—he painted a huge bust of Washington ensconced among symbols of War and Peace. About the 1810 painting, hung in the ballroom of the City Tavern, the Alexandria *Gazette* said:

Of this performance, if presented as the work of a master, it would be extravagant to speak highly; but as the product of untaught inexperienced talent, it would be difficult to be too warm in its praise; and, indeed, so great has been the success of Mr. Custis, in both execution and design, that we may almost venture to say of painters what Horace has remarked of poets, that 'they are born and not made.'

Unfortunately, all of these works by Custis, being designs of the moment, have disappeared.[29]

Those were the years, too, when employing the talents of the architect George Hadfield, Custis finished his "Folly," as Arlington House was called by some. In that marvelously primitivizing, Theseum-like temple, grandly over-

looking the broad Potomac and the fledgling Capital, Custis plied his favorite avocations of painting and playwriting. His *Indian Prophecy* was written there in 1827, and though devastatingly criticized in the press of Philadelphia (where it was first performed) as "absolutely destitute of plot, incident, character, and stage effect . . . trash," was important as one of the first plays employing the subject of the American Indian. Of two more Indian plays he wrote, the *Pawnee Chief* and *Pocahontas, or the Settlers of Virginia, Pocahontas* was his most popular. Custis was also the first to write a drama about the railroad. Staged in Baltimore shortly after the B & O line was begun in mid-1828, *The Rail Road* was a smash hit, with Joseph Jefferson in the leading role.[30]

Judging by his recorded works, it appears that Custis was not quite so daring in his painting, though he was as energetic and assertive. He is known, for example, to have done sea pieces, and in 1832 he painted the *Battle of Trenton* for Georgetown's Union Hotel. He tried this subject again in 1835 on an 11-by-13-foot canvas which he exhibited at the Rotunda, and which, as his son-in-law Robert E. Lee noted, "Attracted some severe animadversions from the critics, which he says were leveled at his *Politics*." Undoubtedly mortified by the request of the Superintendent of the Capitol that he remove the painting, Custis had his agent take the picture and, as he told Major Knowland, "Cast it from the Bridge into the Potomac, that it may offend no more."[31]

Undaunted by such occasional setbacks, Custis continued to paint and even to receive requests for his works. On his induction into the Philodemic Society of Georgetown College, for example, Custis was asked by Father James Ryder and Dr. Mulledy to paint an equestrian Washington, perhaps the same picture exhibited at the National Hotel during the celebration honoring the laying of the cornerstone for the Washington Monument in 1848. Possibly inspired by the ongoing publication in the local press of his recollections, Custis also began in the late 1840s a series of large paintings, no doubt among his best works.

These paintings were seen and copied by the historian Benjamin Lossing, who, in pursuit of information for his monumental *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, had visited Arlington House several times. Lossing's drawings, and his description of Custis—"A living link . . . with the patriots of the old war"—and of Arlington House and its contents appeared in the September 1853 issue of *Harper's Magazine*, and included extended comments on the paintings. "Within five years," Lossing wrote, Mr. Custis "has produced six historical pictures, all remarkable for their fidelity in the delineation of costume. One is a representation of Washington at Yorktown, and the others are pictures of the several battles in which he was most conspicuously engaged, namely, *Trenton, Princeton, Germantown, Monmouth,* and *Yorktown*." The last, *The Surrender at Yorktown*, he described as the "largest and best of the productions of his amateurish pencil."[32]

As can be seen in the *Battle of Germantown* (Pl. II), which took place October 4, 1777, Custis generally adhered to Trumbull's already archaic compositional schema: the central dying figure in the foreground separating the massed opponents on either side. However, in his large *Yorktown* (which he seriously considered exhibiting at the Rotunda!) he "Departed," as he later wrote Lossing, "from the plan of dear old Trumbull's picture, which has always been considered a kind of stiff canvas parade." If Custis' series of paintings is, as Lossing condescendingly described them, merely "Creditable alike to the genius and patriotism of the amateur artist," and quaintly awkward as the primitive works are wont to be, they nevertheless have a certain vitality and integrity, as seen in the *Battle of Germantown*, that only such primitive works can convey.[33]

Equally appealing, but somewhat more sophisticated and not at all bombastic, is the work of James Alexander Simpson, a native of Georgetown. Although known primarily as a portraitist, Simpson was described in his obituary as:

> *For 20 years or more professor of drawing and painting in Georgetown College. . . . He excelled in historical painting, and has left a number of original scriptural paintings in this city [Baltimore]. Of these, one is at the Passionist Monastery opposite Loudon Park. 'The Entombment of Christ' his last picture . . . is considered his best effort.*

While a number of Simpson's portraits are extant, no doubt explaining his reputation in

this field, none of his historical or scriptural pictures is known to exist. However, in addition to the "Entombment," one other of the scriptural type is known, the "Marriage of the Virgin," which Simpson exhibited in 1853 at the District's Metropolitan Mechanic's Institute.[34]

That Simpson embarked early on his career and soon established a reputation for himself is indicated by a letter written to the Boston Athenaeum in August 1831 by George Templeman of Washington, which is as informative about conditions at the Capital as it is of Simpson:

I have a full length picture of Lafayette copyed by a young man of this District Alexander Simpson from the one taken and presented to the House of Representatives some time since (1825) by Schaeffer a French artist. This copy is much admired is said by some persons to be equal to Schaeffers, and Commodore Porter said it was superior that Simpson had given the peculiar expression of the under lip better than the other—Simpson had the advantage of having Lafayette here when he was making the copy it is said the old Soldier hugged him when he saw it completed and was much pleased with it there were some complimentary pieces in the Intelligencer at the time which I intend to endeavour to find—Honbl. Danl. Webster no doubt recollects it as I think I have understood that he with other men of his standing took chances at a raffle for the Picture Simpson having some chances won it himself Mr. Webster said if he obtained it he would present it to your State—All who were in Congress or in Washington in 1825 and 1826 will recollect the Picture it was for some time in the Rotunda at the Capitol and has been the greater part of the time since in the Council Chamber in this City the Corporation are too poor to purchase it Congress you see has to pay interest for them on their Holland debt. I have the Picture in my possession and want to dispose of it I will take $600 in your duplicates of books for it at the same rates as I purchased from you before or let them be estimated by the same person . . . if Simpson had a name as a great Artist the Picture would be worth 1600 or $2000. The Government gave Vanderlyn $2500 for his copy of Washington from West now in the Senate. . . .[35]

The French artist referred to is, of course, Ary Scheffer, whose handsome portrait of Lafayette was painted in 1822 and was given by the Marquis himself to the American people during his triumphal visit to the United States in 1824–1825. That Simpson had access to Lafayette while making his copy is unlikely, as notable artists everywhere who sought to take the hero's likeness often did not succeed—although King and Sully did, in Washington in 1825. Indeed a chronicle of the numerous copies made of Scheffer's image and its seminal influence on American portrait painting would constitute a minor history of taste in America.

Simpson's extant portraits give evidence of a native talent sufficiently developed to satisfy the mimicry demanded of the painter, yet sufficiently unadulterated to have preserved its roots in the folk tradition. His portrait *"Old Yarrow"* (Fig. 23), for instance, painted in 1822 not long after Peale did his version, is more engaging than Peale's in its color and even in its characterization. The humility and quiet courage of the resilient centenarian, a self-manumitted African slave, are conveyed in the bend of the head and hand and are realized with a modesty of means appropriate to the subject. Further, the treatment of the subject is unusually sympathetic for the period.

Similar qualities are seen in Simpson's *View of Georgetown College From the Southwest* (c. 1830) and *George Shoemaker Inspecting Flour for the Port of Georgetown* (1840). Both have that powerful energizing clarity inherent in the best primitive art, and together they allow considerable insight into Simpson's visibly rapid development. In the *View of Georgetown* (Fig. 24) as in *"Old Yarrow"*, Simpson's forms are flat, insistently delineated from foreground to background, and, in respect to the representation of space, vertically stacked—all part of the folk artist's vocabulary. Typically, too, the accuracy of the buildings is reportorial. Yet the feeling for the pastoral quality of the beautifully situated campus is nicely evinced, as is the sense of solitude appropriate to a sectarian institution of learning, conveyed by the single horse-drawn carriage to the right. In studying *View of Georgetown* one is genuinely convinced that Washington of old was quite a different place and that D.B. Warden's praise of the location of Georgetown College was entirely warranted: "It is very healthy for no student has yet died in the seminary."[36]

In the painting *George Shoemaker* (Fig. 25), Simpson has clearly transcended his earlier inclinations, with the exception of that for simple directness. Here the forms and spatial depth are more naturalistic, the composition

Fig. 23. James Alexander Simpson (1805–1880), *"Old Yarrow,"* c. 1822, oil on canvas, 24 × 20 in. Peabody Collection, Georgetown Regional Branch Library, District of Columbia Public Library.

Fig. 24. James Alexander Simpson (1805–1880), *View of Georgetown College from the Southwest*, c. 1830, oil on canvas, 33½ × 41½ in. Georgetown University Art Collection, Washington, D.C.

highly sophisticated, and the characterization and anecdotal elements superb. Against the grave, businesslike Shoemaker, Simpson plays two minor figural notes in the background: on the left, "Bandy Leg Joe," servile yet comic as blacks were typically depicted then; and on the right, the wastrel who, like "street people" of today, was thought to have deserved his lot because of lack of industry and common morality. The rat cowering in the protective shade of the flour barrels on the right lends an additional note of stark realism to the quiet drama of everyday life. Simpson was at his best when he painted *George Shoemaker* and, as the picture indicates, was abreast of the current emphasis on Americana powerfully encouraged by the press and particularly by the recently established American Art-Union.

Though Washington artists were relatively meager in number when compared to those in the larger seaboard cities, they generally kept apace of the new types of painting—history, genre, still life—sweeping the country. Only in respect to landscape was there a relative lag in comparison to what the Hudson River school painters were doing. It is not that landscape painting was unknown in Washington. King painted at least two small remarkably realistic

Fig. 25. James Alexander Simpson (1805–1880), *George Shoemaker Inspecting Flour for the Port of Georgetown*, 1840, oil on canvas, 18 × 14½ in. Collection: William Woodville VIII.

scenes around Harper's Ferry as early as the 1820s, probably as a result of Rembrandt Peale's encouragement, but these must have been lost in his gallery among the many subject paintings and the several copies of Spanish and Dutch landscapes. Cooke's and Chapman's landscapes, charming as they may be, are generally either topographic or Claudian. Even Chapman's *View of Yorktown, Virginia and of the Spot Where Cornwallis Laid Down His Arms* (1834), as American as any subject could be, smacks mightily of the golden-hued Campagna.

Had these two artists not forsaken the Capital in the late 1830s and 1840s as soon as they perceived a decline in government patronage, and had King not been so distracted by his portrait painting, and real estate business, they may well have been inspired by the Hudson River painters to establish an indigenous landscape school. After all, if nothing else, the Capital was famed for its rural beauty, so well suggested in Simpson's painting. It may have been that very fact that dissuaded a concern for native landscape scenes, since Washingtonians as yet had no need for anxiety over an encroaching urban environment such as that driving Bostonians, New Yorkers, and Philadelphians toward a wilder, purer nature. Moreover, the Capital was far from the drumbeat of those transcendentalist centers of the northeast wherein nature was equated, practically, with God. Indeed, although the Southern tradition allowed a rural taste in the manner of Sir Walter Scott and his fabled English gentry, it eschewed a mystical immersion in nature largely in favor of bucolic reverie and rhetorical, historicizing pageantry.

There were local painters other than King, Cooke, and Chapman who tried their hand at landscape, but what little is known of their work suggests that they too were unaffected by the revolution taking place in the North and West. One of these painters was Alexander Hamilton Clements, a Washingtonian by birth, who spent his entire career in the Consular service. Only six paintings by Clements are recorded and only one is known to be extant, *Four Mile Creek between Washington and Alexandria, D.C.* (1846), in the picturesque mode.

Clements' *View of Washington* done in 1848, and his large *Source of the Potomac* of 1879 point to an abiding if interrupted interest in local landscape subjects. Perhaps his appointment as consul to Messina, Italy, in 1849, and later to Brazil, arrested his early exploration of scenes about the Capital, for not long after his return he exhibited in 1860 with the Washington Art Association two works dealing with a more westerly locale: *Twilight Scene—Blue Ridge*, and *After Sunset—Blue Ridge*. The choice of more pristine, rugged scenes bathed in nocturnal light is a reflection of the taste for increasingly dramatic works of more distant lands inspired by artists such as Albert Bierstadt and Frederic Edwin Church. The *Twilight Scene*, it is interesting to note, was owned by the well-known painter of Indian life, John Mix Stanley, with whom Clements shared a studio on Pennsylvania Avenue.

In one instance Clements painted a subject picture, *Columbus and His Sons* (1876), no doubt consequent upon the interest in national history inspired by the Centennial, although the theme had been popular among artists ever since Washington Irving published his life of Columbus in 1828. Clements exhibited and perhaps gave to the Corcoran Gallery of Art both the *Columbus* and the *Source of the Potomac*, "Upon which," he wrote curator, William MacLeod, of the latter painting, "I have spent years of patient labor."[37]

Much less is known of Richard R. Gibson, whose widow became the second wife of James Alexander Simpson. Gibson painted a panorama of Quebec that he exhibited in Washington in 1829, and shortly thereafter opened an art school which he operated for some twenty years until 1855, during which time Eleazer H. Miller, a local artist, was one of his pupils. There is a lithograph the *Alexandria Boarding School* (1834) by the printers Henry Stone and Peter Haas which was delineated by "Gibson," no doubt our artist.[38]

Despite his intimate connections with Washington—he was born and raised in the District and was graduated from Columbian College (now George Washington University)—Christopher Pearse Cranch, brother of John Cranch, developed his aesthetic interests in Europe, New York and New England, and finally settled in Cambridge. Thus he cannot be considered a Washington artist, although he did paint an attractive view of the Capitol now in the Office of the Architect of the Capitol, and a

View of Rock Creek Near Georgetown, awarded in 1846 by the American Art-Union to E.J. Brown of New York.

The struggle of the local art community to establish and maintain a sense of identity occurred amidst developments on the national level which were to have a profound, extended impact on that community and on the very nature of Washington art. The most significant of these developments, in the period under consideration, was the increasingly dominant federal role in western exploration. Nurtured particularly by the requisite to define and to defend the incalculably vast, mysterious land of the Louisiana Purchase, the era of exploration that lasted from the 1820s through the 1840s and beyond was transmuted from an initial rationalist Jeffersonian inquiry into the nationalist battlecry of Manifest Destiny—the idea that American dominance over the vast stretches of the North American continent was inevitable because somehow preordained by God.

From its inception with the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1803–1806, the exploration process required men able to record the phenomena of nature. If these artists were not already given to the dictates of close observation required by science, as was Titian Peale who accompanied Major Stephen Long's Yellowstone Expedition in 1819–1821, they inevitably became so. Since more and more of these explorer-artists tended to become residents of the Capital, their illustrative-scientific work subtly influenced the course of much of Washington art, diverting it toward the descriptive representation of nature, and away from that subjective, aesthetic approach that came to dominate the later century elsewhere in the country.

Until the late 1830s, the role of the government in these explorations was ambiguous. While there was a clearly defined need for information on topography and the nature and condition of the various Indian tribes—information used in political policymaking—the images and objects collected along the way were largely ignored, except by scientists. The materials gathered on the Long Expedition, for example, were deposited in the Peale Museum in Philadelphia, and the Indian galleries of Thomas McKenney and George Catlin were long disdained by Congress—sure signs that the federal "consciousness" had not sufficiently matured to comprehend their value.

What happened then, in the 1830s and thereafter, to modify the government stance? Apart from those fundamental pressing political and social factors related to our westward expansion, the demands of the rapidly accelerating Industrial Revolution for raw materials and for precise knowledge about where and how to get them was an overriding factor. Strangely enough, so too was the purely chance factor of an eccentric Englishman's bequest to the American nation to establish an institution for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge." By some ironic quirk of fate James Smithson's bequest, coming in 1829 with what in retrospect seems like providentially ordained timing, forced Congress to debate what were the basic issues of the nature and relevance of scientific knowledge, how it should be encouraged, and from whence it should emanate.

Perhaps inevitably, because implicit in the national character of the bequest, the answer was that the responsibility for generating new knowledge was a federal one which could best be dispensed with at the seat of government. Of course the result was the Smithsonian Institution, whose formation perhaps finally salved the conscience of the government in respect to its tacit, long-overdue obligation to fulfill the fervent desire of George Washington to found a national university at the Capital. Whatever the case, the influence of the Smithsonian Institution, legally chartered by Congress in 1846, was not noticeably manifest until the 1850s and thereafter, the periods treated in the following chapters.

The first fruits of the government's growing awareness of its obligation to foster new knowledge were seen in the around-the-world expedition of 1838–1842 led by Commander Charles Wilkes. Although largely underplayed even in its own day, the expedition was an achievement of heroic proportions, befitting that Byronic age whose romantic vision was to feed the primitivistic impulses of later generations of artists from Herman Melville and John La Farge to Paul Gauguin and Henri Rousseau.

Of the two artists employed for the Wilkes expedition, Joseph Drayton and Alfred T. Agate, only Agate—registered on the roster of the storeship *Relief* as "portrait and botanical artist"—is of relevance here, as he was to

Fig. 26. Alfred T. Agate (1812/17–1846), *Cocoanut Grove and Temple: Fakaafo (Bowditch Island)*, 1841, oil on canvas, 10 × 14 in. National Academy of Design, New York; Gift of James S. Smillie, 1902.

become a Washington resident on the return of the party. In fact, Agate was the first in a long line of artists attracted to the Capital because of their involvement in the essentially intellectual rather than political exercises of the government. Trained as a portraitist by his brother Frederick, among others, Agate painted miniatures of exquisite delicacy, no doubt reflecting his own refined sensibilities and constitution. As Commander Wilkes noted: "[He] is a most amiable person but of very Great delicacy of constitution. His talents in landscape and figures were of a high order and [he was] duly appreciated by all my officers for his kind and gentle temper."[39]

Agate's greatest achievement and that for which he is most remembered is the hundreds of illustrations he did on returning to Washington in 1842, for the lavish, six-volume *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*. The *Narrative* was written by Wilkes and published in 1844–1845, barely a year before Agate's premature death of consumption at the age of 34. Much of the charm of those illustrations is due to their being based on firsthand observation of exotic objects and scenes rarely seen by Western eyes, but also to Agate's keen sensibilities, which he had to exercise often under the most adverse conditions imaginable.

Something of these qualities is felt in Agate's *Cocoanut Grove and Temple: Fakaafo (Bowditch Island)* of 1841 (Fig. 26), taken on those beautiful coral islands whose exotic palm trees and blue lagoons belied the fact, as Wilkes recounted with incredulity, that "they were the abode of a savage, ferocious, and treacherous

Fig. 27. William H. Dougal (1822–1895), *Wisconsin Avenue and Mt. Saint Albans from 3259 R Street*, c. 1865, oil on canvas, 14 × 20 in. Mrs. Robert H. Charles.

race of cannibals." Fortunately much of Agate's remarkable production is preserved, at least in printed form, whereas the great bulk of the artifacts collected by the expeditionary party for the sake of "Our *National Museum* that I trust *is to be*," as one of them noted, has disappeared through neglect and indifference.[40]

Although not a party to the Wilkes expedition, William H. Dougal benefited from its exertions as an engraver employed in the 1840s to make plates for the *Narrative*. He was another of the growing number of graphic artists attracted to the Capital by its thriving publications business, and eventually he became commissioner of engraving and printing for the Treasury Department. While secondary to his graphic work, Dougal's efforts in painting lent charm as well as number to local exhibitions. His *Wisconsin Avenue and Mt. Saint Albans From 3259 R Street* (Fig. 27), for example, notwithstanding its probable late date of about 1865, has a refulgent yet precise reportorial quality that aligns it and other landscapes by him with earlier types of topographical views.

The view is up what is now Wisconsin Avenue, showing Mt. Alto to the left and Mt. St. Albans, where the National Cathedral now stands, to the right. It was taken from the handsome Italinate residence on R Street that Dougal had built in 1854 and which still stands, although modified by an upper story and a mansard roof, the product of that Second Empire madness that swept the city and the country in the 1860s and 1870s. Gilbert Munger, the graphic artist turned painter, resided for a time with Dougal, who was also a friend of John Mix Stanley's among other artists. Little is known of their associations, although they shared a spirit of adventure which led Dougal to participate in the gold rush of 1849, an expe-

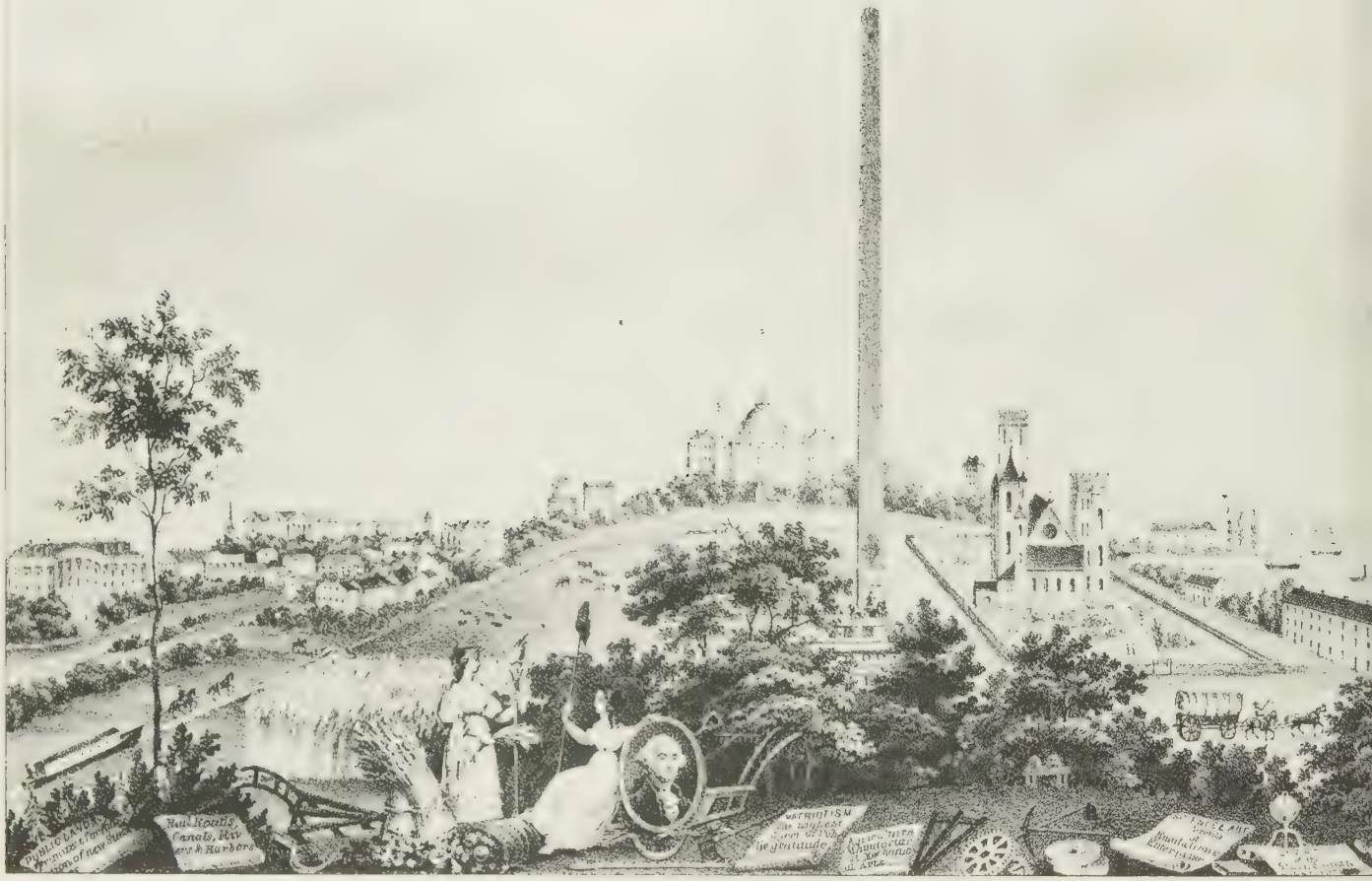


Fig. 28. Joseph Goldsborough Bruff (1804–1889), *Elements of National Thrift and Empire. . .*, 1847, lithograph, 7 × 8¼ in., image. Library of Congress.

rience about which he left numerous illustrations.

The prototypical adventurer-artist of pre-Civil War Washington, however, and perhaps the paradigm of the rough and ready artist-entrepreneur long gone from the American scene, was Joseph Goldsborough Bruff. Born in one of the "Six Buildings" on the Avenue, Bruff was an old-time Washingtonian whose restless spirit manifested itself early in his two-year stint at West Point, in his travels, and in his art. Primarily a topographical artist and ornamental designer employed in government service for more than six decades, Bruff produced in the 1830s and 1840s several drawings which were lithographed and which reveal his keen eye for design, his imaginative wit, and, not the least, his chauvinistic tendencies. His bird's-eye views of the dry dock at the Gosport Naval Yard in Virginia, showing its opening and the U.S.S. *Delaware 74* built there, are both attractive and informative, yet they hardly prepare one for the artist's later remarkable indulgence in fantasy.

Bruff's *Elements of National Thrift and Empire: Public Lands, Railroads, Canals, Rivers, and Harbors; Agricuture, Manufacture, and Mechanical Arts; Science and Art, the Parents of Emulation and Enterprise* (1847) (Fig. 28) is just that, an incredible crush of visual and verbal imagery combined into an allegorical paean to the American character, whose finest traits emanate from George Washington, one of Bruff's idols, and from the city and Capital which bears his name. In one fell swoop the Capitol, White House, completed Washington Monument and Smithsonian Institution, Washington Canal, and all the other elements named in the title are brought together, most attractively, to convey a

rather ponderous idea. Even more fantastical is Bruff's lithograph *Taylor* (1848), in which he employs the last name of another of his idols, Zachary Taylor, as the basis of his design, filling the negative spaces with miniscule renderings of Old Rough and Ready's great and many military exploits. Most entrancing is Bruff's unlocated *Assorted Prints* of about 1845, a trompe l'oeil card-rack painting in the Anglo-Dutch tradition, perhaps inspired by Charles Bird King whom Bruff must have known, but nonetheless far in advance of the sort popularized later by William Harnett and John F. Peto. Again using the material at hand, Bruff included a map of Washington—similar to that published by W.I. Stone—a caricature of himself as the artist, and playing cards, letters, and notices which clearly define his own self-image.

Like so many others lured by the discovery of gold, Bruff and the large group of local adventurers he organized in 1849 took off for California where people were, as the *National Intelligencer* reported in late 1848, "Running . . . and picking it [gold] out of the earth . . . as a thousand hogs let loose in a forest would root up the ground nuts." Bruff's experiences, preserved often at the risk of his life in his journals and drawings, were hair-raising, the stuff of Hollywood, especially his near death by exposure and starvation when deserted by his company during the winter of 1849–1850 on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada.[41]

These trying experiences and the severe financial losses incurred as a result of his California fling for a time affected even Bruff's staunch optimistic outlook, and they may help to explain the series of bitter, crude, yet hypnotic drawings he did in 1856 dealing with the evil passions of the heart and the horrors of the "inebriate's cup." Bordering on the surrealistic, the four drawings of the heart series, as seen in the two illustrated here (Fig. 29), each combine an appropriately distorted heart with an allegorizing figure, three human and one snake, to depict deception, obstinacy, jealousy, and guile. In the equally disturbing and fantastical "cup," a brutalized head peers over the rim of the instrument of destruction.

Bruff's hard straits also inflamed his generally harmless chauvinism, already aroused no doubt by his membership in the pro-native National Institute and, later, in the Washington Art Association. Writing to Secretary of State Marcy in 1852, he lamented, "A series of most unprofitable——[?] has reduced myself and family to the most stringent circumstances; (the foreigners employed here at present perhaps are the chief causes of my exclusion from office, and consequent distress of my family.)." When he was again gainfully employed, in 1853, with the Treasury, his unique abilities flourished anew in the remarkable designs he made for the department's light fixtures, gas brackets, mantels, and moldings, some of which are still in situ. In the chandeliers particularly, manufactured by the firm of Cornelius & Baker for use in the south wing of the Treasury, Bruff's imagination soared. They range from highly ornate designs in which classical acanthus motifs are combined with wolves' heads, corn, Indians on horseback hunting buffalo, tepees, cougars, and treelike stems, to severely functional, remarkably modern designs. Some of the gas brackets, in fact, are practically surrealistic in their combination of natural forms, such as arms, snakes, shells, twigs, and eagles.[42]

Throughout his life Bruff was an inveterate collector, and for years his museum, probably begun in the 1840s, was famous, at least in the District, for its legendary variety of objects. Located in the lower level of the family residence at 1009–24th Street, the museum included, according to a description in the Washington *Post* in 1889, such items as Sir Godfrey Kneller's portrait of John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough; a piece of the great elm which shaded William Penn's treaty with the Indians; slave shackles; the snout of a rhinoceros; precious ancient Roman coins; and "rare curios, bric-a-brac, relics from all parts of the world, which . . . would make the heart of an antiquary beat with joy." The *Post* reporter's visit was prompted not merely by a desire to see Bruff's incredible collections, but because the "Octogenarian," he noted rather soberly, "one of the oldest inhabitants of the District of Columbia, calmly awaits the coming of the grim reaper," a fitting, if macabre, tribute to a man of proven fortitude. Bruff's collections, which also included hundreds of books on exotic places, history, and arcane subjects of every sort, were sold after his death, much of them going, apparently, to the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum.[43]

Naturally, the understanding of the art life of a community transcends the narrow study of

Fig. 29. Joseph Goldsborough Bruff (1804–1889), *Jealous Heart*, left; *Deceptious Heart*, right, 1856, pencil drawings, 11¼ × 9 in., 11½ × 8 in. Collection of the artist's granddaughters, Mary Procter Keyser and Thelma G. Procter.

individual experiences and requires some consideration of activities and events of broader purpose: exhibitions, sales, and communal intellectual efforts. Mention has already been made, for instance, of the role of Charles Bird King's gallery in bringing Washington into the mainstream of artistic pursuits on the national level. Of equal if not greater importance in such an enterprise was the availability of the Capitol building to artists from across the nation. From the time Trumbull's *Declaration* was exhibited in 1818 to 1850, hundreds of works were displayed in various rooms at the Capitol, but especially in the handsome Rotunda, considered the finest of spaces.

Of the most important works shown were: John Vanderlyn's *Ariadne, Marius,* and panoramas of Paris and Versailles, Rembrandt Peale's "Porthole" portrait of *Washington,* and a panorama of Paris by Thomas Barber of London (all in the Rotunda, 1824); the Philadelphian, Mrs. Plantou's *Treaty of Ghent* (Rotunda, 1820); Ary Scheffer's *Lafayette,* and Enrico Causici's model of an equestrian statue of Washington for the city of New York (Rotunda, 1825); Pietro Anelli's *The Deluge* and *Count Ugolino and His Sons* (basement room, northeast corner, 1840); several paintings by the Frenchman, Gilbert, such as *Washington on the Battle-Field of Trenton* (Rotunda, 1844); and Thomas Rossiter's scriptural painting *Naomi with Ruth and Orpah* (Rotunda, 1847).[44]

Exhibitions at other places were also important and were held often by the same artists who plied the Capitol; in January 1825 one could see for twenty-five cents in the west wing of City Hall, six incredibly large watercolors on canvas such as *Perry's Victory on Lake Erie* (12 by 26 feet); at Carusi's dance salon in February 1826 could be seen John Vanderlyn's *Battle of*

Waterloo ("1500 square feet of canvas"), *Marius at Carthage*, *Ariadne*, and a full-length portrait of Napoleon in imperial robes; at Congress Hall, the "Brick Oven" used by Congress until the Capitol was completed, Thomas Sully's *Passage of the Delaware* was on view in February 1820 and elicited the following remarks by John Quincy Adams: "As a picture of men, and especially of horses as large as life, it has merit, but there is nothing in it that marks the scene or the crisis. The principal figure is the worst upon the canvas—badly drawn, badly colored, without likeness and without character."[45]

The following are of sufficient interest to note also: in 1835 an exhibition of paintings lent by local owners was held for the benefit of two orphan asylums, at "Mr. Stone's capital gallery adapted to such purposes, in the Athenaeum Building" on the Avenue near 4½ Street; in July 1849 at the Union Chapel in the first ward could be seen for twenty-five cents "Great paintings" of the Passion, Crucifixion, and Resurrection by "Tatum," described as the "*Correggio of the woods;*" in February 1840 Ferdinand Pettrich invited members of Congress and the public to see his "Fisher Girl, in marble . . . a work which has been entirely executed in this city"; and in January 1824 one could see at D and 12th streets near the Avenue in a building owned by General Van Ness three large historical paintings (all figures life-size and full-length) by the Philadelphia artist Robert Street: the *Prophecy of Simeon* (from the Gospel of St. Luke); *Celadon and Amelia* in a tempest (from Thompson's *Seasons*—summer); and the *Maniac* or *Madman*.[46]

Although Washington was never a major market in the nineteenth century for the art trade, the city's volume of business gradually increased, as the following examples of offerings and sales suggest: Moses Poor, auctioneer and commercial merchant on the Avenue offered engravings of historical, landscape, and sporting (horse racing) subjects and in the 1820s engaged in the sale of Adolph Wertmüller's *Bust of the Dance;* an Italian marble statue of the Venus de Medici, sold from "the lower arcade of the Capitol"; and the three historical paintings of Robert Street described above. Peter Mauro's auctions in that same decade included works by the deceased Giuseppe Valaperta: *Leda & the Swan* and a portrait of the Empress Josephine, both in ivory, and several portraits in wax of distinguished persons; paintings, apparatus, and prints from Pietro Bonanni's estate; the "Most beautiful Alabaster and Agate ornaments," owned by Angelo Vannucci, lately of Italy; and twenty "original" oil paintings by such masters as "Caracci, Bonaventura, Trevisani, Teniers, De Fleem [*sic*], Murillo, Forins, Volturans, Berghem, Weenix, Kalf, Both."[47]

Samplings of sales from 1820 through 1849 included thirty-five oil paintings by "Gonzales, Wouten, Michaux, Holbein, Grotius, Matsy [*sic*], and Guido," among them the *Judgment of Solomon* and a *Lion and Tyger Hunt;* the inevitable Constable's sale for rent due, of the apparatus of and five portraits by J. Whetmore; forty square feet of scenery, (architectural views) suitable for "any room," sold because of "a prohibitory city tax of six dollars per day, or 1878 dollars a year, indiscriminately levied by the Corporation on all exhibitions which it does not choose to favor"; and Coale & Co.'s imported Chinese paintings on rice paper, low in price, but large and of exceptional quality: birds, butterflies, flowers, and female figures.[48]

Of private collections, in this period as in the earlier, no more than speculation is possible. Tantalizing hints abound regarding the collections of such notables as Joseph Gales, editor of the *National Intelligencer;* President John Quincy Adams, that seemingly reluctant but inveterate watcher of art; Mayor Peter Force; and Secretary of State Joel Poinsett, among others. The same is true of the brisk trade in prints, in which form practically every important official was recorded, as well as the various stages of growth of the Capitol and its buildings, and even the titanic debates between Daniel Webster and Robert Hayne over "Nullification," and Clay's brilliant defenses of the Union. Indeed, until painstaking study is made of wills, inventories, and sales, these rich stores of information about the changes in taste at the Capital must remain closed.

Two types of establishments which seemed to flourish at the Capital, if often only briefly, were art schools and museums. The schools of the local artists Wood, Bonanni, and Gibson, and King's informal "system" have been discussed. Others of interest established by transients included Charles Burton's school at his cottage on F Street, opposite the Catholic Seminary, known as "Sans Souci," where he taught boys and girls the standard practices of "Gay

colored Landscapes, Fruits, Flowers, Card Racks, Mantel Ornaments," but reserving to himself "the right of refusing to do three fourths of his pupil's drawing . . . as is the practice with many teachers"; Mrs. Cottringer's seminary for young ladies where courses in drawing and "Painting on Velvet," were offered; the Drawing Academy for young ladies and gents of Mr. Hewins, professor of drawing at Bonfils Seminary; and the schools of Mrs. McClenachen and Miss Mary Anna King, who suggested that those not acquainted with her "Capability to take charge of classes in Drawing," should consult (her cousin) Charles Bird King.[49]

As was the case earlier, museums continued to come and go, but shared nonetheless in the important role of satisfying aesthetic impulses, a role largely dominated by the permanent galleries of King and Thomas L. McKenney. Most were only indirectly related to art, as was the Columbian Museum. In operation on the Avenue from 1815 through 1825 the museum offered, as was common practice, a range of fantastical items such as a "Magic Lantern and Phantasmagoria." In addition, however, the museum occasionally displayed paintings, for example Charles Burton's "Tick's Misfortune," a humorous piece, and serious pieces like De Beets' painting of the *Bombardment of Ft. McHenry*.[50] Similar to the Columbian Museum, but more intellectually oriented, was Bruff's museum.

By far the most serious and fruitful effort at collecting attempted by an individual entrepreneur was made by John Varden who, though unlettered, had an innate love of knowledge and of things. As Bruff was no doubt doing at the same time, in 1826 Varden began collecting a variety of objects. Within ten years he opened the "Washington Museum" at his residence on 5th near D streets, whose success and growth was such that by 1840 he acquired larger quarters, of which he advertised: "The undersigned has now got possession of the first and second stories of the Masonic Hall on 4½ street . . . [and] proposes to combine [with other objects] the most select productions of the chisel and pencil that can be obtained by him. . . ." These "select productions" included about forty paintings, less than two dozen prints and drawings, and several pieces of sculpture. Of the paintings, two seventeenth-century examples survive in the collections of the National Museum of American Art: *Portrait of a Cardinal* and *Massacre of the Innocents*.[51]

No sooner had it attained a measure of success than Varden's museum was superseded by the National Institution for the Promotion of Science and Art, a private but politically powerful organization, with designs (like many other groups) on the James Smithson bequest. Established in 1840, the National Institute (as it was called from 1842, when it was chartered by Congress) set up eight departments of intellectual endeavor—in the manner of the great European Institutes—among which that for Literature and the Fine Arts counted as members a large number of cultivated lay people, as well as several artists of the community: King, Bruff, Chapman, and the architect Robert Mills.

Among the broad purposes of the National Institute, guided by Secretary of State Joel Poinsett (Fig. 21), who became its first president, was the collection and exhibition of objects. To this end the Institute absorbed Varden's collection as well as that of the long-defunct Columbian Institute for the Promotion of Arts and Sciences; received numerous important private donations; and gained custody of the thousands of objects of the Wilkes expedition, the War Department's Indian Gallery, and, later, of the Perry expedition to Japan.

This most impressive array of objects was exhibited, in the crowded almost indifferent manner of the period, in the uppermost level (presently the third floor of the National Portrait Gallery) of the stately new Patent Office building on F Street, wherein hundreds of patent models were also on display. In addition to the popular portraits of the Indian Gallery, the art objects in the collection included portraits by Copley, Stuart, C.W. Peale, and several by George P.A. Healy—those of Francois Guizot, President Tyler, and Senator William C. Preston, the latter two commissioned of the artist by the National Institute itself. Works by other local artists included the hundreds of studies done by Alfred Agate (and Drayton) for the Wilkes expedition; paintings by John Mix Stanley; and many sculptures donated by Ferdinand Pettrich and Clark Mills. Altogether the art objects numbered 212 paintings, thousands of graphic art works, 65 pieces of sculpture, and

sundry medals and mosaics.[52]

In his guide book of 1842, George Watterston had high praise for the "Architectural simplicity and beauty" of the exhibition hall, as well as for the "valuable" selection of Indian paintings and the "fine specimens of statuary. . . ." Others, however, criticized the ungainly aspects of the hall, and especially of the crowded displays, as did one writer for the *United States Magazine*: "A number of original portraits of distinguished Indian chiefs grace the wall . . . but having no telescope we could not pretend . . . to express an opinion of their merits or demerits." But perhaps the most devastating criticism was not of the collections or exhibitions, but of conditions and society in Washington. In the recollections of his travels to North America in 1841–1842, Sir Charles Lyell, the foremost geologist of the age, noted:

At Washington, I was shown the newly founded national museum in which the objects of natural history and other treasures . . . are deposited. Such a national repository would be invaluable at Philadelphia, New York, or Boston, but here there is no university, no classes of students in science or literature, no philosophical societies, no people who seem to have any leisure.[53]

With perspicuity, Sir Charles touched on the crucial problems that had plagued the Capital from its founding, problems which affected the cultural pursuits in general and painting in particular: the city's remoteness, its meager resources, amenities, and population, and its lack of intellectual establishments. Neither Lyell nor his American brothers at the Capital could know, however, that with the founding of the Smithsonian Institution in 1846 and the transfer to it in 1857–1858 of the lethargic National Institute's collections, among others, and with the explosive growth of the nation and its technology from the 1840s on, the foundations were set for a sea change in the intellectual and artistic character of the city. Begun in the 1850s these changes had to await the resolution of the Civil War to be consummated.

Fig. 30. Constantino Brumidi, c. 1865, by Mathew B. Brady.
Architect of the Capitol.

Chapter III

EARLY MATURITY IN WASHINGTON ART, 1850–1875

When he painted his *Grandfather's Hobby* in 1852, Charles Bird King, like other thoughtful Americans of the time, was reflecting on the troubled state of the Union. In fact, *Grandfather's Hobby*, a humorous "fancy piece," was painted in the same year that Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published, and the painting depicts a little boy on a chair mimicking his grandfather—with cocked hat, cane, and spectacles—reading the newspaper "*UNION*," which is upside down. In the left background a mountain appears to be smoldering, perhaps a foreboding of things to come.

Despite King's apparent pessimism about the general state of affairs, on the surface conditions in Washington and throughout the country improved dramatically from the 1850s on for both the community at large and particularly for artists. Indeed, several factors conjoined to substantially increase and shape that shaky cultural base which had begun to emerge in the city in the 1840s. Foremost among these were the expansion of the Capitol building; the growth of institutions (the Smithsonian Institution, governmental agencies such as the Patent Office and Coastal Survey, and educational and art institutions); and the advent of laymen whose activities profoundly influenced the progress of art at the Capital, particularly William Wilson Corcoran and Alexander Robey Shepherd. Although the impact of most of these factors was abruptly terminated by the Civil War, their influence was sufficient to seed the flowering of art at the Capital in the third and especially in the last quarter of the century.

Because its size had more than doubled by 1850, Congress voted to build two large extensions to the Capitol and, later, to enlarge the dome as well. The competition prize went to the Philadelphian Thomas U. Walter, a former student of William Strickland's who was a protege of Benjamin Latrobe's. Even before the cornerstone was laid on July 4, 1851, artists, hearing of the apparent renewed munificence of the government, descended on Washington, as usual to do heads, but principally to gain commissions for history paintings for which remuneration was usually greatest.

Two of the more important petitioners were George P.A. Healy, long associated with Washington, and Emanuel Leutze, newly arrived from a ten-year sojourn in Düsseldorf. In 1852 they exhibited in the Rotunda their highly acclaimed historical scenes: *Webster Replying to Hayne in the Senate*, and *Washington Crossing the Delaware*. At the time neither artist was successful in winning a commission, but within less than a decade Leutze was called upon to do a huge mural for the House of Representatives. While in Washington he no doubt made useful contacts and, as will be seen, even influenced some local artists.[1]

What the rapidly rising Capitol needed most, according to Captain Montgomery C. Meigs, whom President Franklin Pierce had appointed supervising engineer of construction in 1853, were decorative works of art rather than enlarged easel paintings, and preferrably done in fresco. As chance would have it, at that very time had come to Washington the exiled

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Roman, Constantino Brumidi (Fig. 30), probably the only artist in America who was thoroughly trained in the practice of monumental fresco painting. From 1854, when he arrived, to 1880, when he died, Brumidi almost single-handedly designed and painted most of the decorations in the Capitol, naturally employing those late Baroque techniques and ideas he had acquired as a student and professional artist in Rome.

Brumidi's finest works, mostly frescoes, were done from 1855 to 1865. These included the exquisite historical and allegorical scenes in the rooms for the House Committee on Agriculture (the first of the artist's commissions); those in the President's Room (perhaps the best of the frescoes), the Senate Appropriations and Naval Affairs committees, and the Senate District Committee; and the gigantic design for the eye of the dome in the Rotunda. All of these draw heavily upon the great monumental fresco traditions of Rome and Florence, which were largely fashioned under papal and ecclesiastical patronage in the great age of the Baroque.

Employing historical themes such as Cincinnatus called from the plow (a classical allusion to George Washington), the battle of Lexington, and George Washington at Valley Forge, and allegorical representations of the seasons, religion, law, and commerce, Brumidi rapidly completed vast stretches of frescoes that reflect a sweeping knowledge of American history and especially of classical iconography and styles. The delicate, high-keyed tonalities and airiness of the designs in the Agriculture room, for example, remind one of Pietro da Cortona's *Sala di Giove* in the Pitti Palace; while the massive figures and powerful *quadratura* of the President's and District rooms clearly emulate the tradition of the Caracci; and the room for Naval Affairs—one of the most delicate—reflects the "third style" Pompeian. The crowning glory of Brumidi's frescoes, the *Apotheosis of Washington* in the dome (Fig. 31), surely draws on the classicizing illusionistic works in Rome of Lanfranco and especially of Cortona, to whose dome of Santa Maria in Vallicella there is a close resemblance.[2]

That Brumidi, although always completely immersed in his work, had a deep regard for family and civic affairs is indicated by the endearing portrait he painted of his young, beautiful, and talented actress-wife, Lola Germon Brumidi (Fig. 32), probably done shortly after their marriage in 1860, and by the altarpiece (Fig. 33) he did as a gift in 1859 for St. Aloysius Church on North Capitol Street. Lola Brumidi's sultry beauty is evident in several of the Capitol's female allegorical figures, for some of which she is said to have posed. The altarpiece is one of several that Brumidi painted and, like the frescoes, comes out of Renaissance and Baroque traditions. St. Aloysius itself was designed by Brumidi's good friend, Father Benedict Sestini, S.J., architect and professor at Georgetown College, who is included at the far right of the altarpiece.

Although recent scholarship has begun to accord to Brumidi the attention he deserves, much more needs to be done. Little enough is known of his life, for example, and practically nothing of his association with those several fresco painters who were attracted to the Capital, became residents, and, in some cases, assistants to Brumidi in his work: Thomas A. Brown, Emmerich Carstens, James Leslie, Joseph Rakemann, and Hubert Schutter. Of these artists also, scant information has thus far been uncovered.

Despite the fact that Americans were increasingly going abroad to see, among other things, the famous fresco cycles painted by the great Renaissance and Baroque masters from Michelangelo to Tiepolo, such a profusion of classical mythological motifs as Brumidi painted—putti, garlands, fasces, and recumbent gods and goddesses, many of which look like Madonnas—must indeed have seemed strange to the untrained American eye, especially to those westerners who literally came out of the wilds. Given the devastating rejection by the public of Horatio Greenough's heroic statue of Washington, still on the Capitol grounds, it is not surprising that Brumidi's paintings were criticized; but that they, and he, should have been vilified was another matter.

As a recent immigrant, and because his unique talents allowed him to preempt much of the painting at the Capitol, Brumidi became a prime target for that vehement zenophobic sentiment which reflected the spirit of the currently popular Know-Nothing party, whose adherents dammed the "rabble" foreigners—Irish, German, Italian—and particularly the swelling ranks of Catholics. It was the party which spon-

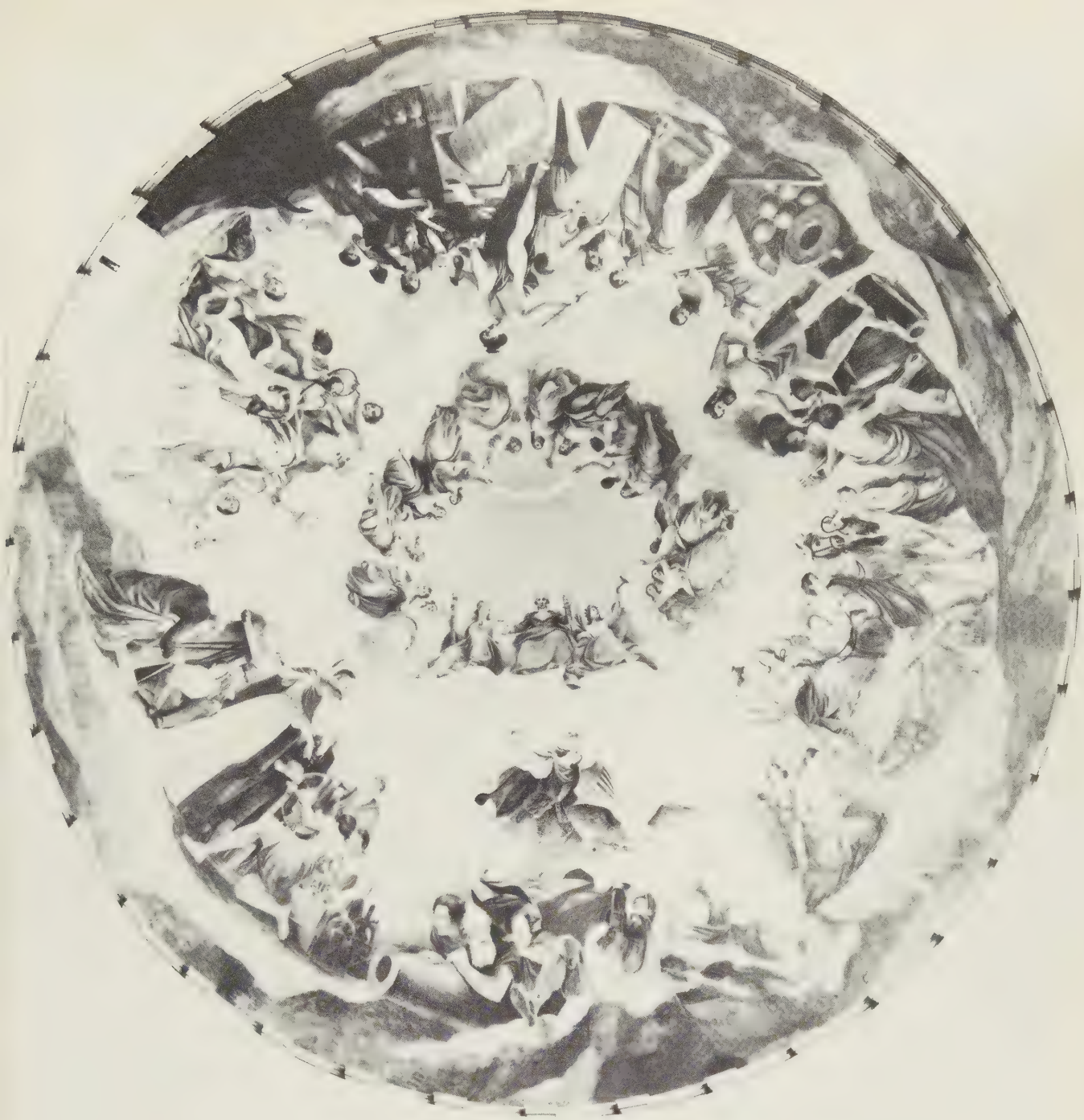

Fig. 31. Constantino Brumidi (1805–1880), *Apotheosis of Washington*, 1865, fresco in the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol, 62 ft. 2 in. diameter. Architect of the Capitol.

sored, for example, those lurid "exposés" such as Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures* (1836), about supposed immoral behavior behind convent walls; which instigated the bloody anti-Irish riot in Philadelphia; and which in Washington perpetrated the "Pope stone episode"—so named because the pope's gift of a block of marble from the Temple of Concord in Rome, to be used in the Washington Monument, was vandalized and dumped into the Potomac.[3]

The most persistent attacks on Brumidi's work initially appeared in the *Crayon*, the first art journal in America, established in 1855 shortly after Brumidi came to the Capital. Although their purpose was to enhance "the perception and enjoyment of Beauty," the editors of the *Crayon*, William J. Stillman and John Durand, took prejudicial and often contradictory positions. While, on the one hand, they fiercely sanctioned the importation of Ruskinian

Fig. 32. Constantino Brumidi (1805–1880), *Lola Germon Brumidi*, c. 1860, oil on canvas, 23½ × 19½ in. (oval). William R. and Audrey O. Greever.

Fig. 33. Constantino Brumidi (1805–1880), *St. Charles Borromeo Giving Holy Communion to St. Aloysius Gonzaga*, 1859, oil on canvas, 181 × 109 in. St. Aloysius Church, Washington, D.C.

and Pre-Raphaelite ideas from England and applauded the classical training that artists such as Thomas Crawford, Hiram Powers, and John Gadsby Chapman received in Italy, on the other hand they condemned "foreign" art and artists, albeit selectively. The fact is, the *Crayon* reflected the growing apprehension felt among "nativist" artists over competition from imported art and from the great influx of skilled artists, especially among the "Forty-Eighters," those liberal refugees from Italy and Germany.

Begrudgingly acknowledging the necessity of "employing artists who understand fresco-painting," the correspondents for the *Crayon* nonetheless urged early on that "American artists" fill the "vast rooms, corridors, domes, panels, and niches" in the new wings of the Capitol. Native artists, they insisted, better understood the "present characteristics of our country." Moreover, from the outset the *Crayon* espoused the creation of a national "Fine Arts Commission" to monitor the awarding of prizes for the design as well as for the embellishment of federal structures, in the hope, surely, of furthering nativist aims.[4]

The sense of community engendered among artists at this time manifested itself in the establishment in Washington of two national groups which assertively pursued the interests of American artists on both the artistic and the political levels: the Washington Art Association and its offspring the National Art Association. Both organizations had a great impact on the local art community. Conversely, Washington artists, who filled many of the executive offices, much enhanced the effectiveness of the groups by meshing the nativist interests of politically powerful local groups to which they belonged, such as the National Institute, with those of the larger bodies. For a time, in fact, Washington became the art center of the country, but the distinction was dubious, and in any case was eradicated, ironically, along with the art associations and their short-lived but notable achievements, by the tragically divisive Civil War.

The Washington Art Association was founded in late 1856, "in order," as its constitution states, "to promote the progress of Art, through the cooperation of the artists and Citizens of the seat of government, and of the United States." Dr. Horatio Stone, a physician turned sculptor, and resident of the Capital since 1848, was president of the association throughout its existence into 1861. Other local artists who served as officers at various times included William D. Washington, John Cranch, John Mix Stanley, Seth Eastman, William MacLeod, and Joseph G. Bruff. Numerous other artists who became "residents" on the founding of the association, such as George R. West, Philip Harry, and William Heine, were really transients whose interest in the Capital faded with the demise of the group.[5]

The two greatest accomplishments of the Washington Art Association were the series of four large exhibitions it sponsored and the national assembly of artists it convened. The first two exhibitions were held in early 1857 and 1858 in a building on H Street provided by William W. Corcoran, wealthy financier and honorary member of the Washington Art Association, whose patronage of the arts in Washington had begun in earnest. Subsequent exhibitions were held in 1859 and 1860, in a gallery over Sibley and Guy's store on the Avenue. Each exhibition contained close to two hundred objects, mostly oil paintings, but also watercolors, prints, drawings, photographs, and sculpture submitted by practically every artist of reputation in the country—Frederic E. Church, Albert Bierstadt, Asher B. Durand, George C. Bingham, Thomas Sully, Mathew B. Brady, Felix O.C. Darley, Thomas Ball, and Erastus D. Palmer, as examples. It must have been exhilarating for the local artists to be counted among the greats of the country and especially for Washingtonians to read notices about their city, such as that which appeared in the *Crayon* regarding the exhibition of 1857: "The exhibition is quite successful . . . [and it is] our own belief, that no city in the country offers the peculiar advantages of Washington . . . for an artist to make himself known by his works, nor the like advantages as a field for the future development of national art."[6]

In his address for the opening of the 1858 exhibition, Dr. Stone first suggested the real purpose of the Washington Art Association. Lamenting the fact that "the art decorations of the public works . . . are . . . in charge of engineers instead of artists," he called for a "more expanded exertion of the genius of this nation upon works of national art . . . in painting and in enduring marble." By "engineers," Stone

meant Captain Meigs who was considered too disposed to foreign artists in assigning work at the Capitol, but who previously had escaped direct criticism. As for the "expanded exertion" of American genius, Stone no doubt had in mind the national assembly of artists called for by the Association, the first ever in America.[7]

Meeting in Washington in March 1858 the convention drew noted artists from all parts of the country and resolved itself, as one participant noted, "into a permanent association, to meet annually." Most importantly, the group approved of a memorial to Congress which was signed by 127 artists. The aim of the National Art Association, as the convention came to be called, was directly stated in the opening paragraph of the memorial: "To solicit for American Art that consideration and encouragement to which they conceive it to be entitled at the hands of the general government." The "appropriate field" for the "development and exercise" of the abundant American talent available, they suggested, "is in the adornment and completion of the noble structures now being reared by the nation for the nation's use." The association's goal, the memorial concluded, "may be most surely and completely attained by the establishment of an Art Commission" made up of artists recommended by the association, and which would be the "channels for the distribution of all appropriations to be made by Congress for Art purposes. . . ."[8]

Although the Art Commission was legislated in June 1858 the commissioners were not appointed until May 1859. Between these two dates and later, some of the most virulent attacks were made on Brumidi and his art at the Capitol. For example, in its report of March 1859, the select committee of Congress to which the memorial had been referred, in addition to wholeheartedly supporting the artists' desires, noted that they were "painfully conscious" that the work at the Capitol "has been prosecuted by foreign workmen, under the immediate supervision of a foreigner." Consequently, the select committee found "nothing in the design and execution of the ornamental work of the Capitol, thus far, which represents our own country, or the genius and taste of her artists." Better a "plain coat or two of whitewash," they argued, than the "'tawdry and exuberant ornaments with which many of the rooms and passages are being crowded.' " The committee suggested, hesitantly, that competition should be restricted to citizens, "because art, to be living, must be projected from the life of a people . . . must reflect their life, history, hopes, and aspirations." To be sure, an occasional eagle or flag might be seen, but, they complained, amidst the "presence of conventional gods and goddesses, with meaningless scrolls and arabesques," even if wrapped in "'red, white, and blue,'" these would never touch the heart or inspire the patriotism of any American. Indeed, they concluded, should one "seek an explanation from those who are manufacturing the cumbrous levities . . . he will be eminently fortunate should he find among them one who speaks the English language."[9]

Much that made sense in the select committee's report was somehow negated by these intemperate outbursts of prejudice. The same was true of the first (and last) report that the commissioners—Henry Kirke Brown, James R. Lambdin, and John F. Kensett—submitted to the Congress in February 1860. Pointing to the unique opportunity that a growing Capital offered for the visual expression of "Patriotic devotion," the commissioners cautioned "that no taint of falsity is suffered to be transmitted to the future upon the escutcheon of our national honor in its artistic record." "Like nations," they reflected, art "has its heroic history, its refined and manly history, its effeminate and sensuous history, the sure presage of decay." Since our art was yet in the initial, heroic phase, they asked, "Shall we allow it to be supplanted . . . by that of an effete and decayed race, which in no way represents us?" Judging by the equally vehement aspersions cast on the floor of the House and Senate (countered by Brumidi's few defenders) since 1858, and the removal of Captain Meigs in 1859, it appears that the National Art Association had made its point. Yet the fact that in their report the commissioners had to reiterate their need for the legal power to exercise their assigned functions indicates they had not been entirely successful. Indeed, in 1860, doubtless with the great sectional struggle uppermost in its mind, Congress abolished the Art Commission and shortly restored Meigs to his former position.[10]

That the presence and activities of the Wash-

Fig. 34. William Dickinson Washington (1832/33–1870), *General Marion and His Men in Pee Dee Swamp*, 1858, oil on canvas, 13½ × 17½ in. Reading Public Museum And Art Gallery, Reading, Pennsylvania, Gift of Mrs. William L. Savage.

ington and National Art associations had a decided impact on the local community has already been suggested. In addition to drawing to the Capital an unexpected notoriety, these groups attracted many of the country's most important artists; surely inspired the aspirations of local history and genre painters such as William D. Washington and Eastman Johnson; allowed notable purchases of first-rate works to be made by local collectors such as William W. Corcoran, James McGuire, Benjamin O. Tayloe, and George W. Riggs; and finally introduced into the city, on a large scale, genre paintings and especially landscape painting of the Hudson River school. In addition, however, these associations introduced into a community quite accustomed to political bickering a level of ethnic prejudice that by and large was unacceptable—even to those who understood it to be part of that Romantic age's generally felicitous search for the *Volksgeist*, the ineffable spirit of a people.

One of the most active of the local artists in the Washington Art Association was William Dickinson Washington. A long-time resident and former draftsman for the Patent Office, Washington was encouraged to pursue history painting by Emanuel Leutze, probably during the latter's stay at the Capital in 1851–1852. From 1853 to 1856, Washington studied with

Leutze in Düsseldorf, but kept the hometown folks aware of his progress and his works as the following notice of 1855 in the *National Intelligencer* demonstrates:

The lovers of art and the personal friends of our talented townsman, Mr. W.D. Washington, will be pleased to learn that he has sent home from Dusseldorf a number of new paintings. They are to be seen at the residence of his father on F Street, and will amply repay an examination. The subjects delineated are "Entrance to a Castle," "The Student," and "Commencement of the Hugenot War." The last-mentioned picture is quite large, and is not only the most ambitious, but the best which the young artist has produced. Portions of it, in design and execution, are worthy of Leutze, and, as it was through the influence and friendship of that distinguished artist that Mr. Washington became a painter and went to Europe, we are pleased to notice that the sanguine anticipations of the master respecting his pupil have been so fully realized.[11]

Washington served as vice-president and director of the Washington Art Association in its first three years, during which time he was also an exhibitor. Among other works he showed were *Hugenot War*, in 1857, and in 1859 a study for a large picture entitled *Marion's Camp*, which the local papers referred to as "Marion's Camp on the Peedee," perhaps the painting similarly titled, at the Reading Public Museum and Art Gallery (Fig. 34). Painted in 1858, the latter is a notable achievement for an artist of twenty-five years, and it exhibits the rather harsh coloring, theatrical lighting and poses, and solid modeling that characterizes the works of the Düsseldorf school. Although the large, final version of this picture is unlocated, it was described in the *Crayon* of February 1860: "Mr. W.D. Washington has on hand a large picture of Marion entertaining the British officers. It is being painted for Mr. McDonald, of Baltimore, the size about eight by twelve feet; it is said to be a considerable advance on any previous work. He occupies the admirably constructed gallery over that of the venerable Charles B. King." The popularity of the Swamp Fox as a pictorial theme goes back to John Blake White's version, engraved and widely disseminated by the American Art-Union in 1840, and was particularly favored by southern artists such as White (who hailed from Eutaw Springs, S.C., the site of Marion's greatest victory in the Revolution) and Washington.[12]

Indeed, at the outbreak of the Civil War, like so many others at the Capital who favored the Southern cause, Washington headed for Richmond to serve as a draftsman with the Virginia army, leaving paintings behind with two of his staunchest patrons, William W. Corcoran and James C. McGuire. A latter-day member of the Mosaic Club in Richmond, to which Washington belonged, remembered Washington as "a reticent fellow of intensely nervous temperament . . . heightened by a lameness, apparently congenital, that sightly disfigured but in no sort disabled him," and as polished, well-traveled, and in with the "best Richmond Society." During his four years in and about Richmond, Washington painted several pictures of war-related scenes, of which his best are *Jackson Entering Winchester*, a Leutzeian tour de force of heroic figures, and *The Burial of Latané* of 1864, his most famous work.[13]

Based on John Thompson's poem about the tragic death and touching burial of a young physician, Captain William Latané, attached to J. E. B. Stuart's troop, Washington's painting (Fig. 35) immediately captivated the heart of the South, so much so that the engravings and lithographs made of it were (and still are) to be found in households throughout the South. It is easy to see why this was so. Employing all the skills in representing sweet sentiment for which Düsseldorf artists were famous, Washington conveyed in relatively simple, straightforward visual terms, the agonizing beauty of the event so well expressed in Thompson's moving poem:

A brother bore his body from the field
And gave it unto strangers' hands that closed
The calm blue eyes, on earth forever sealed,
And tenderly the slender limbs composed—
Strangers, yet sisters, who, with Mary's love,
Sat by the open tomb and weeping looked above.

A little child strewed roses on his bier—
Pale roses not more stainless than his soul,
Not yet more fragrant than his life sincere
That blossomed with good actions—brief but whole—
The aged matron and the faithful slave
Approached with reverent feet the hero's lowly grave.[14]

Among the most effective figures in the composition is that of Aaron (who brought Latané's

Fig. 35. William Dickinson Washington (1832/33–1870), *The Burial of Latané*, 1864, oil on canvas, 36⅛ × 46⅛ in. John E. DeHardit.

body home) in the left foreground. Clearly, he derives from the young black man in the left foreground, also, of Eastman Johnson's *Old Kentucky Home*, which was painted at the Capital while Washington was there, and which is also a product of the Düsseldorf aesthetic.

After the war, Washington taught briefly at the Virginia Military Institute (VMI), where he held the chair of Fine Arts, mistakenly thought to have been founded by William W. Corcoran. Corcoran did, however, contribute paintings to the "Tower" gallery set up by Washington, which was later called "The Corcoran Gallery of Pictures." These last two years were Washington's most prolific. He painted many portraits at VMI, including that of Robert E. Lee, and a number of landscapes, genre scenes, and fancy pieces based on Tennyson's heroines, such as "*Elaine*," which are Rembrandtesque in manner and among his most lyrical works. Something of their intimate quality (and of Eastman Johnson's influence) is felt in the attractive painting *Laundry Woman* (Fig. 36) done shortly before Washington's sudden death in 1870.[15]

The Capital's well-established tradition of history painting was substantially bolstered when several other artists in this field became members of the local art community: Johannes Oertel, Emanuel Leutze, and Carl Bersch, the last the least known of the three. All were German

Fig. 36. William Dickinson Washington (1832/33–1870), *Laundry Woman*, oil on canvas, 18 × 24 in. The Virginia Military Institute, Lexington.

She is working and she's aware of our presence.

born and despite their differences shared that turgid style that characterized the art of so many of the Teutonic artists trained in Germany. Oertel was the first of them to make a lasting connection with Washington, and although his initial experience was dissatisfying, his association with the Capital ultimately was long and fruitful.

Johannes Oertel came to Washington in February 1857 at the invitation of Captain Meigs to assist Brumidi in decorating the Capitol. Although trained as an engraver, he had begun painting soon after his arrival in the United States and by 1855 had done the *Country Connoisseurs* (Fig. 37). A remarkably vigorous satirical piece, the *Connoisseurs* is nonetheless strained in its humor, unlike the works by William Sidney Mount that it emulates. Oertel's first assignment at the Capitol was, as he wrote his wife, "to make four allegorical designs for the ceiling of the Senate Library, each 11 by 6 feet." Scheduling problems, however, soon led Meigs to have him work on designs for State seals for the new House Chamber, during the course of which Brumidi unknowingly began painting the Senate Library (now the District of

Fig. 37. Johannes Adam Simon Oertel (1823–1909), *Country Connoisseurs*, 1855, oil on canvas, 36 × 42 in. Courtesy Shelburne Museum, Shelburne, Vermont.

Columbia rooms). Deeply offended by this "unjust interference with my rights," as Oertel informed Brumidi, he resigned his position in April 1858, writing Meig's: "It would ill become me, as an American citizen . . . to persist in writing my solitary name upon the walls of the nation's first and best building and to remain unimpressed by the entire absence of sympathetic national art . . . within its spacious halls . . . [and] congenial society." Although Oertel was unaware of it, his letter was published in the press, making him a pawn in the current bitter struggle over the Capitol decorations.[16]

If tinged with a considerable dose of vanity, Oertel's sense of idealism was nonetheless evidently genuine, and, in fact, led him into the Episcopal ministry and through a life of altruism and poverty in his dual role as priest and artist. From 1858 to 1883 he ranged throughout the East Coast and to the Mississippi, ministering, teaching art, carving and painting altarpieces, and finally settled close by Washington.

Fig. 38. Johannes Adam Simon Oertel (1823–1909), *Rock of Ages*, 1878, original version 1867, oil on canvas, 21 × 14 in. All Saints Chapel, University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee.

During those years he painted hundreds of pictures, many vast in scale and mostly religious, but when necessary, as was often the case, portraits and animal scenes. He had become so proficient at animal scenes that George Inness (it is said) asked for his assistance. Indeed, as he wrote his wife, while his "sheep pictures are touching a certain public," his religious scenes were largely unrecognized, that is except for one: *Rock of Ages* (Fig. 38). Painted in 1867, the work was reproduced in engravings and chromolithographs and quickly became world famous. As is so often the case with popular works, the product overshadowed its author but, though it brought wealth to others, did nothing to ameliorate the severe straits in which Oertel and his family continuously lived.[17]

Oertel's entire career as an artist was predicated on his dream of painting a series of four pictures reflecting on the ultimate truths of Christianity: *The Dispensations of Promise and the Law* (10 by 14 feet); *The Redeemer* (9 by 17 feet); *The Dispensation of the Holy Spirit* (10 by 14 feet); and *The Consummation of Redemption* (9 by 17 feet). Begun in 1895 and completed in 1901, when the artist was 78 years old, the huge canvasses were given to the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, where Oertel had served in the 1880s. Mostly filled with hordes of figures the scenes are strangely compelling—among other things the result of the powerful color and brushwork, and the peculiar combination of Raphaelesque composition (School of Athens) and writhing figures in the manner of Peter Cornelius and Friedrich Kaulbach. Despite their late date, and the increasing fluidity of the artist's brushwork, the series, and indeed all of Oertel's oeuvre, remains consistent with the style he had developed by the 1850s.

The first of the series, the *Dispensations*, was exhibited in St. John's Parish Hall in Washington, and an offer of $10,000 was made for it by the Reverend Samuel Beiler, vice-chancellor of American University. In determining the quality of the work and the price offered (turned down by Oertel) Beiler had sought the opinion of the highly regarded local artist Richard Norris Brooke. Brooke wrote a long article about the painting in the *Washington Star*, and a letter to the Reverend which summarized his complex reactions: "It is a great work of art. . . . It appears to me one of those rare cases in which the something needed to be said has found the one man possessed of the necessary equipment to say it clearly and conclusively."[18] Coming from an artist of Brooke's quality and knowledge, this was high praise indeed, although perhaps not entirely merited by the work itself.

During his years in and around the Capital, Oertel created innumerable works of art including *Walk to Gethsemane*, one of his most moving paintings (now in the National Museum of American Art); two large canvasses of the Four Evangelists for St. John's Church in Georgetown; and the reredos for St. Stephen's Church on 14th Street. He also designed the reredos (Fig. 39) for the Church of the Incarnation (presently the Mt. Zion Pentecostal Church) on 12th and N streets, of which he had been elected assistant rector. As he had done for several other reredos, Oertel designed and carved the woodwork and painted the scenes for that at the Incarnation (23 by 20 feet)—in itself a feat deserving the epithet applied to him by the poet Sidney Lanier's brother, "this Bunyan of painters. . . ."[19]

Perhaps the only artist whose reputation preceded his residency in Washington was Emanuel Leutze, that "perfect war horse of a painter," as his friend William Sidney Mount called him. Having gained fame abroad and at home with his *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, exhibited at the Capitol in 1852, Leutze was in Düsseldorf when Captain Meigs wrote him in 1854 (prior to Brumidi's coming) asking his advice about a pictorial program for the expanding Capitol. Leutze strongly urged that artists for the project be selected by competition and that they be American: "Every nation has a conception of art peculiar to its institutions," he wrote; "give us a chance, our history is the history of liberty. . . ." In expectation of being employed at the Capitol, Leutze established himself in Washington as well as in New York when he returned home in 1859, an expectation delayed by Meigs' departure and the outbreak of the War.[20]

Although Leutze was quite in sympathy with the aspirations of the Washington and National Art associations, his friendship with Meigs apparently made him cautious. He did not sign the artists' memorial to Congress, for example, and the paintings of his that were included in

Fig. 39. Johannes Adam Simon Oertel (1823–1909), reredos, c. 1885, 276 × 240 in. Unlocated. Originally done for the Church of the Incarnation, Washington, D.C. From J. F. Oertel, *A Vision Realized*, 1917, opposite p. 160.

Fig. 40. Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze (1816–1868), *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way*, 1862, stereochromy, in the House of Representatives wing of the U.S. Capitol, west stairwell, 240 × 360 in. Architect of the Capitol.

each of the four exhibitions of the Washington Art Association were owned and submitted by the local collectors George W. Riggs and William W. Corcoran, and Abraham Cozzens, probably of New York. Moreover, Leutze's membership in the Washington group was honorary during the two years he was abroad and was discontinued on his return. Ultimately, Leutze's wise stance paid off well. When Captain Meigs was reinstated in 1860, he arranged for Leutze to paint a mural for the west stairwell of the House of Representatives, one of four spaces in the new wings that the artist eventually hoped to fill. Leutze's fee for the commission was $20,000.

Begun in mid-1861 and completed in late 1862, *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way* (Fig. 40), better known as *Westward Ho!*, is painted in a technique called stereochromy, similar to but more difficult than fresco, which Leutze had learned in Germany. In scale, composition, color, mood, and theme, *Westward Ho!* is overwhelming, and yet is one of the least successful of Leutze's works. Based on Bishop George Berkeley's poem about the movement of civilization westward, the mural depicts the trek west of a train of American pioneers elated on seeing the great Edenic expanses spread before them and awaiting their embrace in fulfillment of the nation's Manifest Destiny.

Numerous symbolic figures fill the borders and the foreground groups, particularly the black man leading the Madonna-like young immigrant mother and her child, heralds of those down-trodden who would inherit and find freedom in the Promised Land. The terminal point is the Golden Gate of San Francisco Bay—beautifully depicted in the panoramic scene at the base of the picture.

Richly textured, powerfully colored, and replete with that "hope-inspiring" high drama that Nathaniel Hawthorne saw in it, *Westward Ho!* nonetheless found little favor in its day, perhaps justifying the *Crayon's* reflections on the decline of Düsseldorf artists to mere "picture-makers." Of this last significant work Leutze did before his sudden death at his Washington studio, the art critic James Jackson Jarves wrote in his *Art Thoughts* (1869), "Of all his frantic compositions . . . *Westward Ho!* . . . is the maddest. A more vicious example in composition and coloring, with some cleverness of details, could not be presented to young painters. Confusion reigns paramount, as if an earthquake had made chaos of his reckless design, hot, glaring coloring and ill comprehended theme."[21] Jarves' harsh criticism notwithstanding, Leutze did succeed in democraticizing history painting in a manner consistent with the ideals of the Washington Art Association. Unlike Brumidi's frescoes, *Westward Ho!* was comprehensible to the general public, and must have satisfied them on that score at least.

Although less sophisticated than the works of either Oertel or Leutze, the few genre and history paintings by Carl Bersch that are known are nonetheless interesting. If not unique, the six jury scenes that he painted in the 1880s and 1890s (one of which was owned by the historian of the Capitol, Charles Fairman) were at least unusual for their time, and though they are unlocated, even a poor reproduction of one of them, *The Stubborn Juror*, inspires hopes that they may one day be found.

The Rembrandtesque quality of *The Stubborn Juror*—the composition echoes the *Syndics*—is much more pronounced in the powerful tenebroso of Bersch's 1865 painting *Lincoln Borne By Loving Hands* (Fig. 41), which depicts the body of the mortally wounded president being carried from Ford's Theater across 10th Street to the Petersen House. Tradition has it that Bersch was sketching on the balcony of his lodgings next to Petersen's on that fateful April night in 1865, and that after recording the scene on the spot, he quickly developed it into the painting. The sense of immediacy in the picture, conveyed by the expressive brushwork and the sheer force of drama suggested by the eerily lit, tumultuous scene, indicates that the tradition may not be apocryphal. Furthermore, an early print of the Petersen House shows that the house next door (north) did have a balcony.[22]

Historicizing themes also dominated the flourish of sculptural works that attended on the expanding Capitol and on the growing city, and included among others: Thomas Crawford's Senate pediment, and "Armed Freedom" crowning the Capitol dome; Randolph Rogers' bronze doors; and Clark Mills' two equestrian statues of Andrew Jackson and George Washington, the first of many to populate the various handsome city squares. The Mills statues, considered American antidotes to the foreign disease infecting the city, were only two of a number of projects funded by Congress just prior to the War to beautify as well as to serve the essential needs of the city proper. Others were the extraordinary water supply, aqueduct system, and bridge designed and built by Captain Meigs; and the landscaping of the Mall in the romantic "natural" mode, begun by Andrew Jackson Downing.

While these endeavors and the great exertions in fresco and marble at the Capitol directly supported the arts, others equally essential to their survival moved apace, especially, for example, the growth and establishment of institutions and agencies. Among those already existing which grew significantly in the third quarter of the century were the Smithsonian Institution; the Patent Office; the Naval Observatory; the Naval Academy (in Annapolis); the U.S. Coastal Survey, and the Topographical Engineers; and Georgetown and Columbian (George Washington) universities. Important newly established institutions and agencies included the U.S. Geological Survey; the U.S. Fish Commission; the Army Medical Museum and Library; the Columbia Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind (Gallaudet College); the Government Hospital for the Insane (St. Elizabeth's); the Soldiers' Home; and

Fig. 41. Carl Bersch (1834–1914), *Lincoln Borne by Loving Hands*, 1865, oil on canvas, 40 × 60 in. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Ford's Theater National Historic Site, Washington, D.C.

Howard University.[23]

Although none of these organizations was directly concerned with art, they immeasurably enhanced the intellectual reputation of the Capital, thereby attracting to it a glittering array of talents who gradually supplied a much-needed backbone for the amorphous cultural milieu: Joseph Henry, John Wesley Powell, Simon Newcomb, Henry Adams, Edward M. Gallaudet, and Frederick Douglass, among others. Beyond the national recognition they brought to the seat of government, largely in the sciences, these men were catalysts in initiating important cultural groups among the local community that served to mitigate the coarser aspects of Capital life, especially the post-War influx of *nouveaux riches*. In the 1850s, for example, Joseph Henry held informal Saturday night meetings at his house for the Scientific Club he had organized, and which, in the 1870s, flowered into the Philosophical Society; Horatio King's salon and literary society was equally active and formed the basis for the more organized Literary Society of the 1870s; and in 1870, Frederick Douglass and the Reverend Sella Martin launched the singular voice of the black community, the *New Era*. In the late 1870s also, John Wesley Powell was instrumental in organizing the Cosmos Club, whose history, like that of the matured offspring of the earlier groups, properly belongs to the last quarter century.[24]

Inevitably, one is led to ask what was the relevance of these bodies and their leaders to the art community? To begin with, they considerably broadened and strengthened the cultural base of the city, without which no art can thrive. In addition—though primarily oriented toward disciplines other than art—these groups often actively courted artists, affording them opportunities for intellectual exchange which they lacked entirely after the demise of the art associations, and which they had not yet fash-

Fig. 42. Peter Baumgras (1827–1904), *Strawberries*, 1868, oil on panel, 14½ × 24 in. Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C.

ioned for themselves. Most importantly, the various institutions attracted artists or artistically talented people, as well as scientists, affording them jobs which employed or at least sustained their aesthetic skills. It is fascinating to note that as opposed to those artists who gravitated to the Capitol seeking commissions for history paintings, the artists engaged by some of the institutions and agencies mentioned by and large filled the ranks of still life, genre, western, and landscape painters.

No better illustration of the factors just cited can be seen than in the career of Peter Baumgras, another of the many German-born artists who came to the Capital from the 1850s on. During his twenty-odd years in Washington, from 1857 to 1877 and later, Baumgras served the Union army as a surgical draftsman and taught art at the Naval Academy, Columbian University, and Gallaudet College. Doubtless it was his connections with these institutions that gained him admission into "The Literary"—as the distinguished Literary Society of Washington was known—and into the orbit of that arbiter of social graces and the self-appointed protectress of the society, Mrs. Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren. In addition to its notable membership, the society offered erudite lectures by the likes of Henry and Powell, and Oscar Wilde and Mark Twain, and also required its members to contribute an original literary work each year. A poem by Baumgras, "The Stony Brook and What It Said," sounds not very promising, however. While it may be assumed that these associations furthered Baumgras' career, it is difficult to ascertain their impact on his art, if any.[25]

Among the several paintings by Baumgras known to be extant, his still lifes and landscapes are by far his best. His few extant portraits are strangely cadaverous and withdrawn in appearance (probably because based on photographs) and have none of the attractive coloring evident in the still life *Strawberries* of 1868

Fig. 43. Peter Baumgras (1827–1904), *Bighorn Sheep*, 1875, oil on canvas, 12½ × 15½ in. Mr. and Mrs. Donald E. Welzenbach.

(Fig. 42). Baumgras' western scenes, such as *Bighorn Sheep* of 1875 (Fig. 43), are dramatic as well as coloristic, and were admired by his contemporaries. At a much-heralded reception and exhibition held by members of the Washington Art Club, for example, a reporter singled out among other distinctive works, the "finely finished Pacific coast views of Baumgras." In fact, the artist's largest landscape painting, *Yosemite Valley*, was owned by the highly successful black restaurateur and hotel owner, James Wormley, and the artist John Mix Stanley owned and exhibited at the Washington Art Association three of Baumgras' paintings: two studies from nature, and *The Art Student*, one of several genre pieces Baumgras did.[26]

That Baumgras should have been lured in 1877 to the University of Illinois as professor of art speaks to the difficulty the Capital had, notwithstanding its advancements, in retaining talented individuals, even those who appeared to be well established. Nonetheless, in 1900, Baumgras returned to Washington, having maintained contact with the Capital through his son who was resident here, and having occasionally exhibited works through the new Corcoran Gallery of Art—as with his painting *The Antiquarian Feast* (1898). Shortly after his arrival Baumgras applied for the curatorship of the Corcoran, citing his extensive experience, his conversance with the "History of Art and the leading artists of the past half century of this

Fig. 44. Andrew John Henry Way (1826–1888), *Purple Grapes*, c. 1875, oil on canvas, 18 × 24 in. Haussner's Restaurant, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland.

country, and Art abroad," and naming as references people like Dr. Edward M. Gallaudet, president of Gallaudet College, and the Librarian of Congress, Ainsworth Spofford, who by then belonged to an age past, as did Baumgras.[27]

Although he is generally considered a Baltimore artist, Andrew J.H. Way deserves mention here not because he was born in Washington, but because he probably was guided toward a career in art by Charles Bird King, who had painted portraits of Way's mother, father, and older brother. Also, Way's penchant for trompe l'oeil and his manner of painting seem to bear witness to the influence of King.

Among Way's best paintings are those still lifes of succulent oysters and sparkling wine, and especially of grapes, for which he was justly famous. *Purple Grapes* (Fig. 44), for example, is not only visually attractive, but in its botanical accuracy and natural setting satisfied the period's insistence on scientific realism, and appealed to the national pride as well. From the 1830s on, popular writers like Andrew Jackson Downing sang the praises of the newly bred Catawba grapes of Ohio, and newspaper accounts, such as that in the Boston *Evening Transcript* of 1849, dwelled at length on the virtues of native grapes such as the Isabella, Elsinburg, and White Scuppernong, concluding that "America will soon be able not only to supply her own market with good pure wine, but also . . . other nations."[28]

When Philip Carrigan Johnson of Maine accepted a position in 1846 with the Navy Department in Washington, he assured the continuation of his young artist son's romance with the Capital. Nevertheless Eastman Johnson, one of the great genre painters the nation has produced, is usually associated with New York where he spent most of his adult life. Yet, if it is recalled that Johnson experienced his first significant challenge as a professional artist in Washington when he came in 1844 as an itinerant crayon portraitist, and that he painted his most famous work here—*Old Kentucky Home* (1859)—it seems not extravagant to say that he owed something of his successful career to his Washington connection, and perhaps more than has been assumed heretofore.

Indeed, several aspects of Johnson's work can profitably be viewed in the light of what he may have encountered during his protracted stays in Washington over a fifteen-year period. For example, despite the charmingly forthright and sentimental qualities of his early crayon portraits, such as *Head of a Man* (1844), the portraits lack the coherence and assurance of works like *Dolley Madison* (1846), one of many portraits Johnson did in Washington. In its simplified structure, precise delineation, and integrated tonalities, the *Dolley Madison* clearly suggests the influence of those abundant examples of classicizing works at the Capital—the popular lithographed heads by Fenderich; works by Stuart, Vanderlyn, Peale, and Bonanni, that were everywhere to be seen; and even the radically classicizing works of the sculptors Greenough, Pettrich, and Persico, of whom Johnson made a handsome charcoal drawing (Fig. 45). Moreover, can the probing studies of Indians that Johnson made in Superior, Wisconsin, be fully comprehended without recalling that he had just left Washington, with its great store of Indian paintings by Stanley, James Otto Lewis, Seth Eastman, and King, whose Indian Gallery was still ensconced in the Patent Office Building?

More directly referential to Washington is the painting *Old Kentucky Home—Life in the South* of 1859 (Fig. 46), which depicts blacks lounging in the alley outside their ramshackle dwelling to the left of the Johnson home on F Street, between 13th and 14th (about where the Sun Building presently stands). That the principals in the scene are slaves (as is usually assumed) is impossible to say, since by 1860 almost eighty-four percent of the Capital's 11,000 blacks were free. However, as was increasingly true in the black community itself, Johnson separated the light-skinned people (the young couple, and the child being tended on the second floor above, on the left) from the dark (the main group to the right of center), and it is toward the former that Johnson's sister Mary on the far right looks. Perhaps Johnson meant the division to signify the differences between the well-established free blacks of the city and the few slaves—but this is speculation.

That the meaning of *Old Kentucky Home* was ambiguous is confirmed by the fact that both abolitionists and apologists of slavery saw in it justification for their causes: the abolitionists emphasized the exploitation and poverty of the blacks suggested by the picture, while the apol-

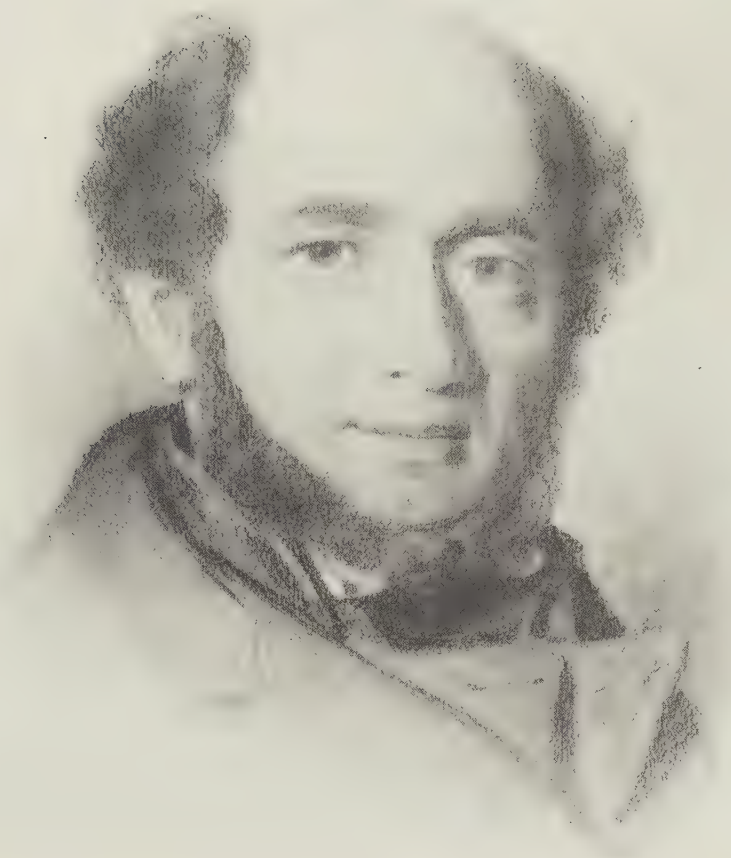

Fig. 45. (Jonathan) Eastman Johnson (1824–1906), *Luigi Persico*, charcoal, 21½ × 15¼ in. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 46. (Jonathan) Eastman Johnson (1824–1906), *Old Kentucky Home—Life in the South (Negro Life at the South)*, 1859, oil on canvas, 36 × 45¼ in. The New-York Historical Society, New York City.

ogists pointed to their happy, carefree condition. Such radically opposed interpretations suggest that the artist was reasonably objective in his representation of the subject, which was remarkable considering that at the time he painted the picture the question of slavery was more intensely focused in Washington than anywhere else in the country. The bitterly fought Compromise of 1850 (which prohibited the slave trade in the District) and the recent Dred Scott decision, as examples, had filled the city with acrimony. After all, as Senator Soulé of Louisiana had suggested, what happened at the Capital, the symbolic center of the nation as well as a Southern city, was crucial. Such conditions may at least explain why Johnson did not exhibit *Old Kentucky Home* with the Washington Art Association in 1859 or 1860, although he entered ten works in 1857, was listed as a director in 1858, and in 1859 entered two works.

Although *Old Kentucky Home* may be ideologically neutral, its subjects are nonetheless clearly represented as picturesque and relatively happy, despite the surrounding delapidation. Undoubtedly the painting's sanguine character reflects Johnson's own steady, happy nature, but also the influence of those Dutch, English, and German masters he had studied (Adrian Ostade, David Teniers, David Wilkie, and Ludwig Knaus) whose paintings are filled with happy characters of rustic simplicity. Moreover, while the taste for the exotic was not new in

the 1850s, Washingtonians were among the first to appreciate the distinctive qualities of black culture, perhaps in part explaining Johnson's choice of subject and his singular emphasis on the blacks themselves. Indeed, when George P.A. Healy made one of his many trips to the Capital in 1842, the first place to which the venerable Charles Bird King took him was the "picturesque black quarter." Might King not have done the same with Johnson, who lived just around the corner from him?

One of the more curious facts about *Old Kentucky Home* is that, as one historian suggested, it appears illogically retrogressive in style, signaling Johnson's reversion to Düsseldorf aesthetics away from the painterly ones he had lately acquired at The Hague and in Paris. Again, from a Washington perspective this is hardly surprising since, with the presence in the late 1850s of artists such as Washington, Oertel, Baumgras, and especially Leutze, the Capital was, in the aesthetic sense, practically a colony of Düsseldorf. Yet, a close examination of the painting reveals that while the niggling detail and dry color may be Düsseldorfian, the small-scale figures and deep recesses are Anglo-Dutch, that is closer to Wilkie and the sources on which he drew—Ostade, Teniers, Terborch—whose works Johnson knew firsthand. Johnson may have been reminded of these artists had he walked the block-and-a-half from his house to King's gallery, as indeed he must often have done. There he would have seen many paintings by King which drew precisely on that Anglo-Dutch tradition. *The Itinerant Artist* (Fig. 13) and *Rip Van Winkle*, as examples.[29] Thus, all the principal elements of *Old Kentucky Home*—subject, mood, style—may be rationally interpreted in the context of the Washington milieu, perhaps enriching our understanding of the work, but in no way exhausting its great power.

When compared to the refreshing directness of the *Family Group before United States Capitol* (Fig. 47) of the 1850s, even Johnson's superb genre paintings somehow seem overly artful. Another of the fairly numerous group of primitives painting at the Capital, the unknown artist of *Family Group*, unlike Johnson, unequivocally conveys a sense of intense pride and purpose in this most casual moment in everyday life—the Sunday stroll. There is no doubt about the artist's message: the ritual is significant; it is good; and it is sanctified by the presence of Greenough's heroic statue of Washington (then located on the east lawn of the Capitol).

The federal government's significant role in surveying the vast stretches of western lands as well as the course of the transcontinental railroad, and its need to keep abreast of the various Indian tribes encountered during those ventures, brought to Washington several of the greatest painters of the western scene. In fact, it is ironic that while in pursuit of its goal of Manifest Destiny and the concomitant brutal policies of extermination and removal of the aborigines, the government subsidized, however reluctantly, studies and images of that rapidly vanishing people to a degree which made Washington the nation's center of Indian culture. Nowhere else could one see an aggregate of Indian artifacts and images comparable to those in the Indian Gallery of King and Stanley and in the archival collections of the Smithsonian; in the Catlin collection finally acquired by the government in 1879; and in the works of Seth Eastman, located in the very halls of Congress.

Foremost among that second generation of painters of Indian life was John Mix Stanley, who spent much of his early career portraying the little-known tribes of the far western reaches. Following the path trod by so many others before him, Stanley came to the Capital in 1852 in the hopes of convincing Congress to purchase his remarkable gallery of 152 paintings, which he temporarily deposited in the Smithsonian Institution. For some thirteen years Stanley's appeals to the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution and to the Congress were rebuffed, despite his reduction of the price of the collection from twenty to twelve thousand dollars, and despite the urging of Secretary Joseph Henry who, in his reports to the regents, often addressed the merits of the Stanley collection:

A large number of portraits, formerly in the Patent Office, of Indian chiefs and a few females of the different tribes which have from time to time visited Washington, which were painted at the expense of the government, has been added to the Gallery of Art. These, with the Stanley paintings, now form perhaps the most valuable collection in existence of illustrations of the features, costumes, and habits of the aborigines of this country.

This gallery is an object of special interest to all

Fig. 47. Unidentified artist, *Family Group before United States Capitol*, c. 1850, oil on canvas, 23 × 30¼ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Museum Purchase.

visitors to the national metropolis, and to none more so than to the deputations of Indians frequently called to Washington to transact business with the government . . . . It would be a matter of regret were the collections ever to be separated, and it is hoped that Congress will in due time purchase the portraits belonging to Mr. Stanley, which will become more and more valuable in the progress of the gradual extinction of the race of which they are such faithful representations.[30]

Unfortunately (as was to happen again later in the year to his paintings at P.T. Barnum's museum in New York), a tragic fire at the Smithsonian in 1865 destroyed all but five of Stanley's paintings (and all but a few of King's nearly 150 portraits). In a heavy-hearted letter to the artist, who by then had retired to Detroit, Secretary Henry lamented "the sad catastrophe, which destroyed, in a few moments, the result of many years of your labor. I need not say I am profoundly grieved on account of your irreparable loss . . . ." As for the Congress, in exchange for the satisfaction of all claims against the government, it resolved in 1870 that several thousand chromolithographs of Stanley's Indian paintings be allowed to come into the country from abroad, duty free.[31]

Although he no longer went into the field after coming to Washington, except for the year he spent with Governor Stevens' Northern Railroad Survey in 1853, Stanley continued to paint Indian scenes, but also portraits, genre, landscapes, and even panoramas. In fact, when he

Fig. 48. John Mix Stanley (1814–1872), *The Disputed Shot*, 1858, oil on canvas, 36 × 29 in. In the collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Gift of William Wilson Corcoran, 1869.

Fig. 49. John Mix Stanley (1814–1872), *Self-Portrait*, c. 1840, pencil drawing, 7 × 10 in. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

was not busy illustrating the Railroad Surveys, which consumed much of his time, Stanley painted two large panoramas, one in 1854, the other in 1862. The first, a dramatic travelogue of forty-three western scenes, was accompanied by an equally dramatic text written by the Washingtonian Thomas Seaton Donoho. The second, for which Stanley had the assistance of several other artists, chronicled recent events of the Civil War, and was advertised by Stanley as "Views of Cities North and South, East and West; Battles, Bombardments, Marches, Explosions, Scenes and Incidents of every Kind, which illustrate the Great Rebellion and a Nation's Struggle for National Life." Not surprisingly the panorama (made up of seventy-seven scenes, each 16 by 18 feet!) was accompanied by rousing musical selections such as "Yankee Doodle."[32]

Among the finest of Stanley's works done in Washington is *The Disputed Shot* of 1858 (Fig. 48), a genre painting which, although atypical in being an interior scene and a non-Indian subject, nonetheless represents well the artist's powers as a narrator, composer, and colorist. The sympathetic understanding of human types evident in the picture characterizes the best of Stanley's Indian paintings also, such as *The Young Chief Uncas*, *The Snake in the Grass*, and *Gambling for the Buck*, and is humorously expressed in the quaint *Self-Portrait* (Fig. 49)—a sketch of the early days reflecting on the rigors of life in the field. As do others of Stanley's later works, *The Disputed Shot* has that ring of authenticity that must have been appealing to contemporaries and that may have led William W. Corcoran to purchase it (and others by Stanley) and to include it in the Washington Art Association exhibition of 1859.

In many ways *The Disputed Shot* reflects the

Fig. 50. Seth Eastman (1808–1875), *Indian Modes of Travel*, c. 1870, oil on canvas, 31 × 44 in. Architect of the Capitol.

positive changes that occurred in Stanley's art after his arrival in Washington—more supple figures, richer characterization, better integrated compositions. Most likely these changes were the result of his associations with the many talented artists at the Capital in the 1850s, especially those trained in Düsseldorf. Numbered among his known artist friends were Charles Bird King (who included Stanley in his will), William H. Dougal, Seth Eastman, Alexander H. Clements, and probably Peter Baumgras. That Stanley kept himself open to various influences is suggested by the fact that he owned two landscapes each by Clements and Baumgras, and a genre painting, *The Art Student*, by Baumgras. Conversely, Stanley's impressive gallery of Indian paintings at the Smithsonian, readily accessible to the public, must have been an inspiration to many other artists at the Capital who were painters of the western scene.[33]

One of these painters was Seth Eastman, whose military career led him for many years into remote territories where he came to know and where he assiduously recorded the daily routines of Indian life. His extraordinary knowledge of and skill in depicting Indian culture made him an ideal person to illustrate Henry Schoolcraft's monumental study (authorized by Congress in 1847), the *Indian Tribes of the United States*. Composed of six voluminous parts, the study contains over eighty plates after Eastman's work, most from sketches he had made in the field, but some from pictures conceived in Washington, where he had come in 1849 and where he remained, by and large, for the rest of his life.[34]

Given their mutual interests, Eastman no doubt came to know Stanley well after the

younger artist followed him to the Capital. In fact, with the idea of petitioning Congress to purchase his gallery of Indian paintings, Stanley immediately solicited Eastman's opinion regarding the relative merit of his and George Catlin's highly touted works. "I consider the artistic merits of yours," Eastman wrote, "far superior to Mr. Catlin's; and they give a better idea of the Indian than any works in Mr. Catlin's collection."[35] That Eastman should have preferred Stanley's relatively sober, realistic representations over the more romantic interpretations of Catlin is no surprise, inasmuch as his own Indian scenes are especially noted for their objectivity, and indeed have a certain kinship of mood and style with Stanley's.

These qualities are evident in the series of twenty-six scenes of Indian life and of various military forts Eastman was commissioned to paint, beginning in 1867, for the House Committees on Indian, and on Military Affairs, respectively. Except for the dramatic view up the Hudson River in the painting of West Point, the seventeen scenes of forts are basically reportorial, whereas the remaining nine pictures, as *Indian Modes of Travel* indicates (Fig. 50), are a striking testament to the difficult, sometimes violent, but always elegiac life of the aborigine. Although the figures in these large-scale works are often static and the color dry (as opposed to his vibrant, small watercolors) Eastman's thorough understanding of Indian ways, his unfailing compositional skill, and his sensitive renderings of the moods of nature more than compensate for these inadequacies.

Several lesser-known artists who occasionally painted western and exotic scenes gravitated to the Capital in the 1860s and 1870s, including Gustavus Sohon, Antonion Zeno Shindler, and Theodore Kaufmann. All were emigrants—Sohon and Kaufmann from Germany, Shindler from Bulgaria—and two, Sohon and Shindler, were employed by the government. Sohon's illustrations for the Pacific Railroad Surveys of 1853 and the Mullan Road Report of 1863, both done in Washington, reveal a talented and well-trained hand. So too do the sensitive drawings he made in the 1850s during his exploring activities in the far northwest, of which the Pend d'Oreille Indian, Alexander (Fig. 51), is an excellent example. Similarly, Shindler's numerous ethnological "portraits," exemplified here by the handsome *King of Korea* (Fig. 52) done during his many years with the Smithsonian Institution, have a strangely exotic and furtive quality, perhaps reflections of the eccentric artist himself.[36]

By inclination and practice Theodore Kaufmann was a history painter whose penchant for the histrionic, doubtless born of his training in Munich under Peter Cornelius and Friedrich Kaulbach, is evident in his *Train Attacked by Indians* (Fig. 53). The dizzying perspective and obscuring darkness lend the painting that measure of melodrama encouraged by the new and outrageously popular art of chromolithography which swept the country from the 1850s through the 1880s. In fact, several of Kaufmann's works were "chromoed" (as were Stanley's), including the striking portrait of the first black Senator, Hiram Rhoades Revels, of about 1870 (Fig. 54). It is interesting to speculate whether the marvelously vigorous tonal divisions in the portrait are a result of Kaufmann's understanding of the technological requirements of color lithography or of the Munich school's insistence on the sharp delineation of values.

Undoubtedly because of his reputation as artist, teacher, and author, Kaufmann was prominent and vigorously active in local art circles. He was, for example, among those who in 1874 petitioned William W. Corcoran to set up an artists' studio building near the Corcoran Gallery; and was one of the founders of the Washington Art Club, at whose first annual reception his series of "allegorical and historical views . . . illustrating the history of electricity" was accorded special attention in the press. Throughout his decade of residence at the Capital, Kaufmann was a forceful advocate of history painting (especially literary themes), exhibiting at the Corcoran Gallery in 1874 works like *The Erl King's Daughter* (after Goethe's poem on the legend), and *The Syren of the Lurley* [Lorelei] based on another popular German legend. In fact, in a letter of 1878 to George H. Briggs, one of the Corcoran's trustees, offering the sale of his *Columbus Before the Council of Salamanca*, Kaufmann outlined his plans to do a series of paintings on the "Development of the Idea of Liberty . . . from the dawn of History up to the foundation of the American Republic." "Earnest historical paint-

G. Sohon
April 8th 1854.
Alexander (English name.)
Tum-ele-hot-cut-se (Indian name).
130, 305
Alexander, the principal chief of the Pends-d-oreilles is not a Pend-d-oreille
proper but descended on the fathers side from the Iroquois and on the mothers
from the Pends-d-oreilles. He was made "first chief" by the Pends-d-oreilles themselves
and by the Jesuit Priests in 1844. He is noted for his high-toned, stirring
noble traits of character. He is a brave man. When a part of his tribe had
stolen horses from Fort Benton on the Missouri in 1853, he started with only
two of his men and carried them back, passing through the whole camp
of the Blackfeet Indians, their most deadly Enemies. He still resides in the
Pend-d-oreille tribe of Indians and is 45 years old.

Fig. 51. Gustavus Sohon (1825–1903), *Alexander*, 1854, pencil drawing, 10½ × 7½ in. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 52. Antonion Zeno Shindler (c. 1813/23–1899), *King of Korea*, c. 1893, oil on canvas, 42 × 28 in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Lent by Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 53. Theodore Kaufmann (1814–after 1887), *Train Attacked by Indians*, 1867, oil on canvas, 45 × 65 in., framed. Private Collection.

ing," he wrote, unknowingly echoing a long lament in American art, "can not well be developed . . . unless encouraged by the munificence of the State or of great Art Institutions like the Corcoran Gallery."[37]

When the Washington correspondent for the *Crayon* described activities at the Capital in March 1856, he wrote that "Landscape Art is represented . . . by Messrs. Wm McLeod, A.H. Clements, Oscar Bessau, and Charles Lanman, all of whom . . . have been pleasantly and profitably engaged." Had he known of them, he would also have mentioned other landscapists who were active at that time: William Brenton Boggs, Andrew F. Bunner, William G. Newton, Montgomery C. Meigs, and Charles K. Stellwagen; and several prominent slightly later, John H. Drury, John Ross Key, and Gilbert Davis Munger. Such a relatively sizeable group of painters clearly indicates that since the 1830s landscape painting had finally come into its own in Washington.[38]

Interestingly enough, two of the artists mentioned by the *Crayon*, McLeod (properly MacLeod) and Lanman, were the first to introduce into the District the traditions of the Hudson River school. In MacLeod's oeuvre this influence is most fully represented in his views of the Hudson River and the mountains of New Hampshire, which he painted while living in New York at the University Building, in the heart of Hudson River country, so to speak. No sooner had MacLeod returned home to Washington, however, than the topographical strain which he had long absorbed here, and which was so deeply entrenched in Washington, quickly asserted itself, so that his painting *View . . . from Anacostia* of 1856, for example, bridges both styles. By 1873, when he painted *Great Falls of the Potomac* (Fig. 55), topography had triumphed to the degree that the painting can hardly be distinguished from early nineteenth-century views. On the one hand this seems surprising, since as Curator of the Corcoran Gal-

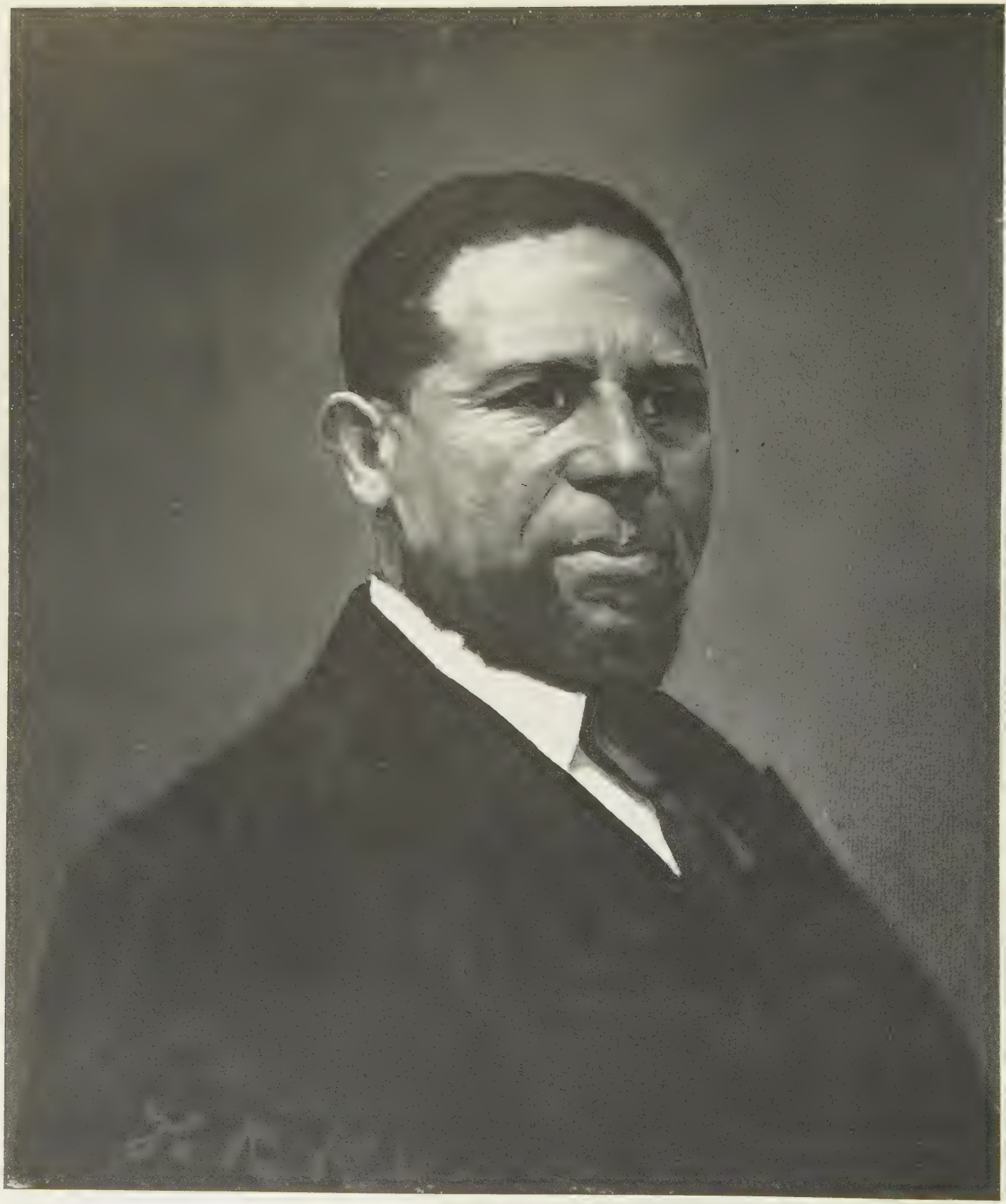

Fig. 54. Theodore Kaufmann (1814–after 1887), *Hiram Rhoades Revels*, c. 1870, oil on millboard, 12 × 10 in. Collection of the Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Fig. 55. William MacLeod (1811–1892), *Great Falls of the Potomac,* 1873, oil on canvas, 34 × 45 in. In the collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Gift of William Wilson Corcoran.

lery of Art MacLeod had easy access to the works of Thomas Doughty, John Frederick Kensett, and Thomas Cole in the collection. Yet, on the other hand, the aesthetic climate in Washington seemed unable to admit of anything beyond a picturesque realism, and rarely anything that smacked of nature mysticism. Perhaps the general lack of enthusiasm at the Capital for landscape painting was what motivated MacLeod's move to New York in the first place.

Much more attuned to Hudson River school painting was Charles Lanman, who had studied with Asher B. Durand, and who was close to the circle of Thomas Cole, William Cullen Bryant, and Washington Irving, the last of whom referred to him as "the picturesque explorer of our country." A man of remarkable energy and spirited imagination, Lanman was primarily a writer and an indefatigable explorer of the wilds of nature, as well as an authority on angling. His many books on the attractions of nature were internationally known and admired, and his few contributions to the yet infant art of aesthetic criticism were significant, if uneven. The most perceptive of these are his essays on Cole and Durand which appeared in his *Letters From A Landscape Painter* (1845) and in a New York *Evening Post* article of 1847. In the *Letters*, for example, while admiring Cole's *Course of Empire* series and the "great mind" which "dared to choose so vast a subject,

Fig. 56. Charles Lanman (1819–1895), *Frontier Home—Log Cabin in Wilderness*, c. 1858, oil on canvas, 28½ × 42 in. Collection of David M. Sherman, Washington, D.C.

requiring the united attributes of poet, philosopher, and painter," Lanman nonetheless cautioned artists against adopting Cole's subjects, "because," he urged, "they are not stamped with a national character . . . ." That Lanman was objecting to Cole's idealizations of nature, which transcended the limitations of boundary, as opposed to the realism and localizations of Durand, was made clear in his *Post* article. In contrasting the two artists, he wrote: "They will undoubtedly hereafter be looked upon as the founders of two American schools . . . . Cole possesses an imagination of the highest order, but Durand only a cultivated fancy—we admire the former but love the latter."[39]

From the time of his arrival in Washington in 1848, Lanman held a bewildering number of positions, his most important as secretary to Senator Daniel Webster (1850) and later to the Japanese Legation (1871–1882). In addition, he published several important works, including the *Dictionary of the United States Congress* (1859). For inexplicable reasons, however, he was constantly thwarted in his desires to gain various advantageous positions such as Librarian of Congress, in 1864; Commissioner to the Paris Exposition of 1867; and Director of the Corcoran Gallery of Art in 1871. Inasmuch as he had had the backing of his old friend Joseph Henry and of William W. Corcoran himself, whose collection he had catalogued in 1857, the loss of the gallery directorship apparently sufficiently embittered Lanman that he did not participate in the various art organizations which developed thereafter. He had, nonetheless, continued to paint throughout, and exhibited with the Washington Art Association.[40]

Although he liked to refer to himself as an "amateur landscape painter," Lanman produced approximately one thousand pictures

Fig. 57. William Brenton Boggs (1809–1875), *Arch Rock, Kagosima Bay, Japan*, 1855, pencil drawing, 15 × 9½ in. In the collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Gift of Mrs. Edward M. East.

Fig. 58. John H. Drury (1816–after 1914), *Field Workers on the Potomac*, c. 1862, oil on canvas, 20 × 30 in., sight. Sheldon Arpad.

during his lifetime, most of which are unlocated. Among them were many landscapes whose titles, such as *Lake George* (1850s), *The Reef of Norman's Woe* (1873)—both once owned by Corcoran—and *Harvest Home in Berkshire, Mass.* (1883), indicate he remained within the orbit of the Hudson River painters, but as suggested by *View on Difficult Run, Virginia* (1855) and *On the Upper Potomac* (1882), extended it south to the Capital region. The finest of his extant works also belong to the Hudson River tradition: *Frontier Home—Log Cabin in Wilderness* (Fig. 56); the many small oil sketches he did in the 1880s, particularly of Block Island; and *Haystacks, New England* (1883). Indeed, the *Frontier Home* and *Haystacks* are close transcriptions of Thomas Cole's *Home in the Woods* (c. 1845) and Martin Johnson Heade's haystacks of the 1860s, respectively, and the Block Island paintings reflect the influence of Heade and John F. Kensett as well. Altogether, Lanman's paintings and writings constitute a distinctive, if neglected, contribution to Washington and American art.

How little even the modified Hudson River style of MacLeod and Lanman affected Capital landscapists may be seen in the works of William Brenton Boggs, another artist whose military career brought him to and kept him in Washington. Like Bunner, Newton, Meigs, and Stellwagen, Boggs painted landscapes largely indistinguishable from countless other picturesque views done throughout the country. They are nonetheless important as part of the fabric of Washington art, and also for their unusual quality. The drawings of Bunner and Boggs, as examples, are most engaging, as is suggested by the latter's *Arch Rock, Kagosima Bay, Japan* of 1855 (Fig. 57), one of many drawings Bogg's did during his expeditions in the Pacific.

Unlike the artists just cited, John H. Drury, Gilbert Davis Munger, and John Ross Key became enraptured by the opening of the West,

Fig. 59. John H. Drury (1816–after 1914), *Rocky Mountain Scenery*, 1871, oil on canvas, 42½ × 66 in. Chicago Historical Society, Illinois.

its conquest by military, railroad, and scientific expeditions, and, finally, its glorification in the grandiose panoramic scenes of Bierstadt, Moran, and others. Each in his own way, Drury, Munger, and Key joined that visual exegesis of the Rocky Mountain west, with each making a vital contribution. But in order to do so, each had to depart the Capital and its restricted view of nature. How interesting though, that while staying away for years, each artist returned to the Capital where his career had begun.

Although a native Washingtonian, Drury is the most obscure of the three artists, having spent many years in Chicago. Yet, as can be seen in his *Field Workers on the Potomac* (Fig. 58), Drury's curious combination of training under Thomas Doughty in America and Thomas Couture in Paris had equipped him with a sensitivity toward nature and the power to embody it visually. The broad range of nicely harmonized and modulated hues and tones, laid on with vigorous but unexaggerated brushstrokes; the sweeping composition and deep pastoral quiet; and the sensitive portrayal of the figures in the *Field Workers* place the painting foremost among early Washington landscapes. Equally impressive is Drury's *Rocky Mountain Scenery* (Fig. 59), a work of panoramic breadth reminiscent of Bierstadt, yet sufficiently scientific in detail and compressed in composition to suggest firsthand knowledge of the subject and perhaps the influence of photography.

As accomplished as he was in portraying landscape, Drury engaged the other forms of painting as well: genre, still life, animal life, anecdote, and Indian scenes, reflecting a versatility born of his Washington heritage perhaps. Only one of these works is known to be extant, however, *Dueling on the Missouri* (Fig. 60) painted in Washington in 1852. A stunning picture of considerable dramatic power and beauty, *Dueling on the Missouri* sharpens one's desire to know more of Drury's training and

Fig. 60. John H. Drury (1816–after 1914), *Dueling on the Missouri*, 1852, oil on canvas, 46 × 62 in. Collection of Robert J. Trombetta, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

background and of the genesis of the work. While the figures of the Indians suggest an inadequate understanding of human anatomy, for example, the treatment of the horses and landscape indicate a thorough knowledge of and sensitive feeling for these subjects. Obviously the picture is composed, and may well have been inspired by such works as Charles Deas' violent scenes of fighting Indians, later popularized in Currier and Ives prints, but most likely by the paintings in John Mix Stanley's Indian Gallery, brought to Washington and publicly displayed in 1852, the very year Drury painted his *Dueling*.

When Drury went to Chicago is unknown, but it is interesting to note that several other Washington artists migrated there as well, such as Peter Baumgras and John Ross Key. In fact, even though Drury returned to the Capital often, and eventually for good, nothing is known of his activities here.[41]

The lives of Gilbert Davis Munger and John Ross Key crisscrossed frequently. Apparently good friends from the days of their employment with the government in the 1850s, they later traveled west and painted together. Yet, their styles vary considerably: Munger subscribed to the vigorous forms of the western school and Key to the quieter modes of luminism. That their styles crossed also, however, is

not surprising.

The divergences of mood in Munger's work are nicely represented by two contemporaneous paintings, *Yosemite Valley (From Old Inspiration Point)* of 1868 (Fig. 61) and *Golden Gate* of 1871 (Fig. 62). The aggressive forms and hot colors of the rugged mountains in the first contrast sharply with the cool tonalities and silent lapping of the sea in the second, and yet both have that sense of actuality for which Munger strove and for which he was renowned. In recounting his experience with Clarence King's survey of the Rocky Mountains in 1869, Munger explained how, in pursuit of the scientific accuracy expected in an age of realism, he had painted "the geological formation with careful detail so that a geologist could tell the species of rock from looking at the pictures." And writing of his friend Munger's later trip to California in 1875, Walter Paris, an Englishman and fellow Washington artist, added: "The work he was doing at that time was the most careful and conscientious interpretation from nature, fine in color and strong in artistic values . . . it was absolutely sincere and not influenced by the art of any other country.[42]

The latter reference may have been to the radical change that had taken place in Munger's art during his nearly twenty years abroad from 1876 to 1893. As is evident in Munger's many scenes of Fontainebleau forest, his style evolved from a straightforward virile realism into a complex, evocative poetry of subtle half lights and shades comparable to the diaphanous moods of Corot. A writer for the London *Daily Telegraph* readily noted these qualities in Munger's entries for the Royal Academy exhibition in 1886: "Corot, in his deeper and firmer mood, is reproduced, with no slavish effort of dull mechanical imitation, but with the appreciative reverence of an original hand. . . ." But more than Munger's art had become Frenchified. When asked during an interview in Paris in 1892 why American artists live abroad, he mused, "It is in Europe rather than in America that the indefinable and singular charm in painting which men call style is most readily attained . . . [since] art is as yet comparatively undeveloped in America. . . ." Had Munger's search for "style" led him in the radical direction of his contemporaries in France—Emile Bernard, Paul Gauguin, and Vincent Van Gogh—his statement would be less ironic, since when he returned to Washington he found deeply entrenched there the very Barbizon style that he had struggled so hard to achieve.[43]

Key experienced a similar metamorphosis of style which eradicated the distinctive character of his luminist works in favor of the pervasive painterly mode of Paris. That he did not succumb to this influence as completely as Munger is interesting in the light of his early friendship with James McNeill Whistler, whose career as an artist he no doubt followed. The two of them worked together for the U.S. Coastal Survey in Washington in the 1850s, during which time Whistler made an attractive sketch of the young Key at work (Fig. 63). In any case, while the merits of the change in Munger's and Key's styles are debatable, there is no question that they were among hundreds of artists who, after the Civil War, surrendered the relative sovereignty of American art to the new wave of European styles.

Key's finest works were done in the late 1860s and early 1870s, during and after his trip to California with Munger. His *Lake Tahoe* of 1871 (Fig. 64) represents the peak of his achievement and is a rare example of the luminist sensibility imposed upon a western subject. While the delicate transition of hues in the seamless sky suggests the influence of his friend John F. Kensett, the insistently horizontal format and richer tones are reminiscent of the works of Heade and Church. Key's paintings are nonetheless easily distinguishable by a certain poetic delicacy and knowing exactness, nicely described in 1870 by a writer for San Francisco's *Alta California*:

> *Among those who have lately returned laden with the fruits of arduous labors in the country is Mr. John R. Key, who has spent the summer in the Santa Clara Valley, Santa Cruz Mountains and Lake Tahoe. His portfolio is filled with painstaking and careful sketches. . . . Key excels in tree-painting and his studies of foliage are numerous and highly satisfactory. . . . A small, highly-finished picture of 'Emerald Bay' (Lake Tahoe) . . . may be classed as a gem of landscape art. . . . In the middle distance is the bay barred by a slender point of land covered with pines, and . . . beyond the richly painted foreground is the Lake painted with uncommon beauty, the medium being absolutely translucent. . . .*

Fig. 61. Gilbert Davis Munger (1836/37–1903), *Yosemite Valley (From Old Inspiration Point)*, oil on canvas, 17¾ × 25¾ in. Mr. and Mrs. George A. Lewthwaite.

Key's western scenes had a broad appeal as is indicated by the fact that the prominent publisher Louis Prang chromoed *Lake Tahoe* and several others in the early 1870s, and that Key's *Entrance to the Golden Gate* won a medal at the Centennial Exposition in 1876 and was purchased in 1877 by the Corcoran Gallery of Art (but deaccessioned in 1951).[44]

That Key's two-year sojourn abroad, mostly in Munich and Paris, had immediately affected his painting was noted and praised by a writer for the Boston *Evening Transcript* in 1875: "His style is more picturesque and his subjects more interesting. His method is broader, his color more true and delicate. . . . Several views on the Seine are picturesque, in one especially of a story half-revealed in melancholy suggestion and sombre effect. . . ." But apparently the veil of mood and technique did not envelope Key's work altogether. Judging by some of the many scenes he painted of crowded concourses and gaily decorated, exotic buildings at the great expositions in Chicago, St. Louis, and Buffalo—for which he was said to have been the official artist—the sharp clarity of his eye and hand had not been entirely submerged, although some of the later scenes slide into facile illustration. Nor do the few extant examples and reproductions of his later landscapes, many about the Potomac, reveal a loss of his peculiar charm and intensity. As a writer for the press observed, the best of these are "rich and beautiful in color . . . [especially that of] the so-called Chain-Bridge Road, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, not far from Washington."[45]

One means by which Key maintained his visual acuity in his last years at Washington was by setting several of his works on an easel at the National Gallery of Art (the present National Museum of American Art) and com-

Fig. 62. Gilbert Davis Munger (1836/37–1903), *Golden Gate*, 1871, oil on canvas, 18¼ × 33½ in. Wanda M. Fish.

paring them to works in the collection. When he wrote the bemused director, William Henry Holmes, for permission to do so, Holmes informed his own superior, "This is a novel request, but I see no reason why the Gallery should not be made useful to this old gentleman. . . ."[46]

Except for the firmly entrenched institutions, agencies, and clubs, which contributed broadly to cultural pursuits, every major initiative affecting art at the Capital was aborted by the Civil War. The Washington and National Art associations were terminated abruptly. Artists and patrons left the city wholesale, led by their sympathies to the South (as were Washington and Key) or to the North (as were Baumgras, Boggs, and Eastman), or to leave the country entirely (as did the city's chief patron of art, William W. Corcoran), some never to return. The thousands of military personnel who populated the garrisons that spiked the city everywhere, the great influx of fugitive slaves, or "contrabands," and even the droves of commercial artists who flooded the city (Thomas Nast and Alfred R. Waud, as examples) extended the city far beyond its already meager capacities. In fact, unlike the wealthy commercial centers from New York to Baltimore and Chicago, all of which profited greatly by the war, Washington's economic and cultural life were severely dislodged.

Yet the war unexpectedly brought to the forefront in Washington one of the newer "arts," photography, and those most closely associated with it during that period, Mathew B. Brady and Alexander Gardner. Although numerous daguerreotypists such as John Plumbe, Solomon Carvalho, and Titian Peale had practiced at the Capital since the 1840s, Brady and Gardner brought with them not only new methods and ideas, but new aesthetic imperatives which elevated photography to art. As is evident in the portrait of Robert E. Lee of 1865 (Fig. 65), Brady's ability to probe character was incomparable, whereas Gardner's photograph of David Dixon Porter (Fig. 66) of the same date, reveals a talent for compositional design which was unique and remarkably modern in character.

From the moment they opened Brady's

Fig. 63. James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), *John Ross Key*, 1854, crayon and white chalk on brown paper, 20¼ × 12¼ in. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 64. John Ross Key (1832/37–1920), *Lake Tahoe*, 1871, oil on canvas, 20 × 40 in. Collection of Alfred C. Harrison, Jr.

"National Photographic Art Gallery" in 1858, throughout the next quarter century, Brady and Gardner (who managed the studio) dominated Washington photography. More relevant here, they frequently employed artists to color the large composite prints they occasionally made, as well as to assist in the technical processes. Insofar as Washington artists are concerned, however, only Carl Bersch is known to have worked with the Brady studio, but since the artists Peter Baumgras, Selmar Siebert, John Mix Stanley, and Henry Ulke were also involved with photograpy, it is possible that further research would uncover close working relationships among them.[47]

One of the Capital's most talented artist-photographers was Henry Ulke, whose fame as a photographer rests on the picture he and his brother Julius took of the room in which Lincoln died. Ulke and Julius were boarding at the Petersen House when Lincoln was carried there, and although they were not permitted to photograph the dying President, they did record the room. However, the image was suppressed because of the objections of the Lincoln family, then lost until the 1960s. No doubt Henry Ulke knew Carl Bersch, who lived next door to the Petersen House, and who had witnessed and later painted the bearing of Lincoln's body from Ford's Theater. Indeed, the two men had much in common, and with Peter Baumgras as well; their interests in photography, music, and natural history (Ulke had one of the most extensive collections of beetles in the country), and especially their German heritage, through which they so enriched the life of the Capital.[48]

Ulke's finest achievement was in portraiture, which experienced a renaissance in Washington after the mid-1870s. Undoubtedly Ulke's work as a professional photographer profoundly affected his paintings, uniformly infusing them with an intense air of presence. Those of Governor Alexander R. Shepherd (Fig. 67) and James Wormley (Fig. 68), both of the early 1870s, are typical in their powerful sense of immediacy. Further, the leathery quality of the flesh tones, the sharply divided tonal areas, and the muted color harmonies are qualities characteristic of most of the German painters considered thus far—Baumgras, Kaufmann, and Oertel. These works are among dozens Ulke painted of notable local and national figures whom he often photographed as well. That his portraits were well known and admired in the local community is attested to by the fact that in addition to his own likeness, the popular black restaurateur James Wormley had commis-

Fig. 65. Robert E. Lee, 1865, by Mathew B. Brady (c. 1823–1896), photograph, 8 × 6 in. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig 66. David Dixon Porter, 1865, by Alexander Gardner (1821–1882), albumen silver print, 8¾ × 6⅞ in. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 67. Henry Ulke (1821–1910), *Governor Alexander R. Shepherd*, 1871, oil on canvas, 71 × 58 in. District of Columbia Government.

Fig. 68. Henry Ulke (1821–1910), *James Wormley*, c. 1870, oil on canvas, 36 × 24 in. Mrs. Betty F. Henderson.

sioned of Ulke a portrait of the pro-civil rights Senator, Charles Sumner, which was given a prominent place in Wormley's hotel.[49]

Although the high regard accorded Wormley by the local community was not unique—other black leaders such as John M. Langston and George F. Cook were similarly respected—it was less common from the 1870s on. As a result of the Civil War, the apparent ameliorating relationship growing between the races in the 1850s was totally disrupted. True, the bloody conflict legally assured civil rights for blacks, but due to a host of factors not the least of which was the huge influx of former slaves into the Capital, these rights were gradually subverted by machinations designed to separate and layer the races.

Nonetheless, it was only after the war that the black presence was felt in Washington society to any significant degree, and in the arts, not until the end of the century. This is not to say there were no black artists before 1875, but rather that those who existed, unlike Joshua Johnston in Baltimore or Robert Duncanson in Cincinnati, are currently unknown. A good example of possibilities that await study in this area is found in a rather typically patronizing anecdote that appeared in the *Crayon* of January 1855. Writing from Lago Maggiore, Italy, the English landscapist J. B. Pyne told of the building's black caretaker, John Proctor, who was formerly an artist in Washington, D.C. Proctor had seen landscapes in "Misser Durand's room," and his own handiwork of signs and ornamental painting, he offered, filled all of Canal Street. "I kin . . . take any view, sah, an' . . . paint it little, on de chair," he claimed, noting that when "I was on de frigate Potomac, Commodore Downs . . . have me up on de deck all de time to paint de views . . . he have me . . . paint de ice-berg off Chittling Islands, sah." Proctor also mentioned a fellow artist from Washington, an itinerant portraitist who had studied with Chester Harding, and whose portrait of a Washington "stone-engraver" was "firs-rate . . . de gentleman say he had a good many to take him off . . . but not one do it well as John Smith."[50] Though such tantalizing tidbits raise more questions than they answer, they do offer beginnings.

To date, the first black artist known to have worked in Washington is William H. Simpson. Trained in Buffalo and established in Boston, Simpson set himself up in Washington briefly in 1866, but long enough to be recorded in the 1868 city directory (which was enjoined in 1873 to drop any color designations). His mentor, Matthew Wilson, had already come to the Capital during the war to paint portraits, presumably the same reason Simpson came. No record of what Simpson painted in Washington is known, but his ability in portraiture is well summed up in the strong likenesses of Bishop Loguen (Fig. 69) of 1854. Equally interesting is Simpson's romantic head of a young black, *The Negro*, known only through an engraving by a W. Hulland. Although Simpson is not a Washington artist, his presence here, however fleeting, looms large because of the dearth of material on black artists, especially in the first three-quarters of the century.[51]

One of the most prolific portraitists associated with the Capital and the only one whose fame was international was George Peter Alexander Healy. Although Healy never resided anywhere very long, except Chicago in his waning years, his intimate connection with Washington extended over a period of forty years, beginning with the portraits commissioned of him by the National Institute in the early 1840s and culminating in that of President Chester Arthur (1884), painted on order of William W. Corcoran. Except for several extraordinary portraits such as those of the French Minister Francois Guizot and Presidents Buchanan and Lincoln (the Springfield version), Healy's oeuvre is one of uninspired competence. Even his most engaging transformation of the remarkable Washington sculptress Vinnie Ream into a "contadina" (Fig. 70) somehow seems anachronistic for 1870, not only in its artful picturesqueness, but also in its prosaic frontality and relatively conservative technique. By that time, the best of the younger artists of the period were already moving toward probing psychological interpretations of their sitters, complex naturalistic representations, and more expressive brushwork.

Corcoran's selection of Healy to paint President Arthur surely was expedient, inasmuch as Corcoran was desirous of rounding out the series of presidential portraits the artist had begun for King Louis Philippe in 1842, and which Corcoran had purchased for his gallery in 1879. By 1884, in fact, the elderly, genteel Corcoran (Fig. 87) was recognized as something

Fig. 69. William H. Simpson (1818–1872), *Bishop Jeremiah Westley Loguen*, 1854, oil on canvas, 30 × 25 in. The Gallery of Art, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 70. George Peter Alexander Healy (1813–1894), *Vinnie Ream*, c. 1870, oil on canvas, 31⅜ × 22½ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Brigadier General Richard L. Hoxie, 1917.

of a connoisseur, with tastes ranging beyond Healy's conservative style. Moreover, he was rightly regarded as the single greatest benefactor of the arts in Washington.

Having accumulated considerable wealth in the 1840s and 1850s, William W. Corcoran began to collect works of art immediately and to support the arts in everyway possible. For example, he contributed to the establishment in 1852 of the Metropolitan Mechanics Institute, wherein artists could exhibit their works (they opened in the splendid new east wing of the Patent Office in 1853); he generously supported the Washington Art Association and, along with others of that group, was one of the incorporators in 1860 of a National Gallery and School of Arts; in 1874 he was instrumental in founding and was president of the Washington Art Club, the first wholly local organization given over entirely to art; and, most significantly, he continually supported individual artists by purchasing or commissioning works of them. Not the least important, he built the first public art gallery in the city.[52]

Corcoran's early desire to establish a public gallery was the result of his vision of the Capital as a center for the arts (a constantly recurring idea, as has been shown), and of his aggressive acquisitions policy. According to the catalogue compiled by Charles Lanman in 1857, Corcoran's collection numbered eighty-two pieces, all of which were housed and made readily accessible in his handsome neo-Renaissance residence on Lafayette Square. While it included some choice European works, the collection was predominantly American and broadly representative, as Corcoran meant it to be, of first-rate contemporary artists: Daniel Huntington (*Mercy's Dream*); Thomas Cole (*The Departure* and *The Return*); John F. Kensett (*Mount Washington*); Thomas P. Rossiter (*Rebecca*); and Hiram Powers (*Greek Slave*—which momentarily incurred Victorian moral indignation when first displayed in 1851). No less highly regarded were the works of the many Washington artists represented in the collection, testifying to Corcoran's serious commitment to making the Capital a center for artists as well as for artworks: Seth Eastman's *Ball Playing Among the Sioux;* Emanuel Leutze's *Milton at Home;* William Brenton Boggs' *View on Catskill Creek;* Charles Lanman's *Lake George;* William MacLeod's *Mount Vernon;* Oscar Bessau's *Little Falls of the Potomac;* Eastman Johnson's *The Pets;* and William Dickinson Washington's *The Hugenot's Daughter,* as examples.[53]

To house his collection Corcoran had James Renwick, the talented eclectic architect of the Smithsonian "Castle," design and build a gallery on 17th Street and the Avenue, across from the White House, which was to be dedicated expressly to the "Encouragement of the American Genius." Cast in the fashionable Parisian "Second Empire" style of Napoleon III, the gallery was begun in 1859, and though "rapidly approaching completion," as the *Crayon* eagerly reported in 1861, was abandoned during the war, not to be opened to the public until 1874. Despite the extended delays, in large part the result of governmental antagonism toward Corcoran for his pro-Southern sympathies, the opening of the gallery was a brilliant affair. The inclement weather notwithstanding, hundreds of invited guests came to see the more than three hundred works of art on display, as well as the "magnificent gallery" which, the press exhorted, "will long survive him as one of the noblest and grandest of his splendid contributions to the adornment of the nation's capital." Corcoran's benefactions on behalf of art did not cease with the successful launching of the gallery. Eventually, his concern led to the establishment of a school of art as well, incorporated in a new gallery which was built, close by the old, toward the end of the century.[54]

While Corcoran was clearly the most consistent and prolific collector of art in town, by 1875 a creditable number of others had accumulated collections that were small, apparently, but of significant quality. Since these collections are now scattered and have never been studied systematically, little of meaning can be said of them except that their owners were a varied lot. Some, like George W. Riggs, Corcoran's banking partner, and Benjamin O. Tayloe, were wealthy, while others came from more modest walks of life. R. S. Chilton, for example, was a poet; James C. McGuire an entrepreneur and art dealer; James Wormley the owner of a thriving hotel. William Winston Seaton and Peter Force were politicians and formerly mayors of the city; Colonel William Doughty, the brother of Thomas, was a military man; and Lanman, Stanley, and Boggs were artists.

Now and again these collectors were men-

tioned in the *Crayon*, and they often exhibited their works with the Washington Art Association, of which most were active members. Only a few of their paintings need be cited to give an indication of the scope of their collections: Peter Rothermel's *Palmer's Return* and William D. Washington's *Ancestral Tomb* were owned by McGuire; Chilton owned landscapes by Henry J. Brent and a genre piece by Charles F. Blauvelt; Wormley had portraits and landscapes by Peter Baumgras and Henry Ulke. Riggs had some choice pieces: Eastman Johnson's *Young Savoyard*, Miner K. Kellogg's *Greek Girl*, and Emanuel Leutze's *Maidenhood*. Seth Eastman's *Indians in Council* was in Force's collection; Tayloe's included a portrait by Gilbert Stuart, animal scenes by Thomas H. Hinckley, a Henry Inman portrait, and several landscapes by Thomas Doughty and Robert W. Weir. And Lanman's most impressive collection included works by Leutze, Alvan Fisher, Thomas Sully, Stuart, Thomas Cole, Asher B. Durand, Richard W. Hubbard, and Daniel Huntington, among others. The list of collectors is not exhaustive, and does not include those transient officials such as Mr. Crampton, the British minister; or the resident Mr. Marsh, whose appointment as Ambassador to Constantinople led him to leave his valuable collection of graphic works to the Smithsonian. Institutional collections have been alluded to throughout, but, along with private ones, need careful study to determine their significance in terms of the local art community.[55]

Despite the debilitating effects of the war, in its aftermath the Capital, with its solidly fixed institutions and agencies, clearly began to emerge as a center for intellectual enterprises, especially in the natural sciences, and, of course, as the home of the rapidly expanding national government and bureaucracy. Corcoran's philanthropic efforts in Washington, however belated when compared to experiences of other cities, singularly bolstered the city, placing it once more among the country's prominent cultural centers. Yet, notwithstanding its visible progress, even in 1870 the Capital was relatively speaking still a village, offering little in the way of amenities. While its staunchest supporters might justly argue the claim of Nevada Senator Stewart that the Capital was "the ugliest city in the whole country," they would have been hard put to differ entirely with Horace Greeley's view: "The rents are high, the food is bad, the dust is disgusting, the mud is deep and the morals are deplorable." Obviously the physical aspect of the city was considered most distasteful, reflecting that perennial problem that "Epaminondas" (one of those inveterate letter-writers to the press) railed about in the early 1800s—the inability of Congress to mix "great" and "small" concerns.[56]

That these conditions were remedied almost magically and with unprecedented rapidity was due to the energetic effort of Alexander "Boss" Shepherd (see Fig. 67), who assumed nearly dictatorial powers under the Territorial Government established in the District from 1871 through 1874. No doubt aware of Baron Haussmann's phenomenal transformation of Paris into the glittering capital of Europe, Shepherd similarly wrought fundamental changes in the appearance (not the plan) of the city: streets were graded and paved, sometimes ruthlessly, leaving houses hanging in mid-air; miles of sewer and water main were laid; the odorous Washington Canal, which still disfigured the area south of the White House, was covered over; trees were planted, lamps installed, and parks landscaped. Some of the tumult of those years is captured in Susan Fuller's humorous drawing *7th Street Excavation During the Invasion of the Board of Public Works* of 1873 (Fig. 71).[57]

Although Shepherd was charged with everything from incompetency to corruption, he almost singlehandedly dragged the reluctant city into the modern world of conveniences. Indeed, for the first time in its history the Capital was viewed as a desirable place to live, and the threat of its removal from old Potomac's shores—very real even in the 1870s—was finally stilled. Shepherd's achievements and the ambivalent feelings he inspired are summarized well in an article in the Washington *Evening Star*, taken from the Ohio *State Journal* in 1874:

There is no question that to Governor Shepherd belongs the credit or discredit of what was done. His iron will carried everything before it. . . . Whatever may be thought of his prudence, no one can help admiring the splendid dash and resolution with which he carried on his plan of making a magnificent capital out of the wide, straggling village which he found when he entered upon his work. . . . Men of wealth and leisure are everywhere turning their eyes

Fig. 71. Susan E. W. Fuller (1831–1907), *7th Street Excavation During the Invasion of the Board of Public Works*, 1873, pen and ink, 8¾ × 11⅝ in. Henry H. Glassie, Washington, D.C.

to Washington as a place for retirement from business. Literary men, attracted by the extensive library privileges, are flocking there. In short, Washington is for the first time a Great National Capital.

As was noted when Shepherd visited the Capital in 1887, it was truly "the city which he plucked from the mire and set as a jewel in the sight of men."[58]

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"Scenery No More Paintable, Nature No More Engaging"

Chapter IV

THE GOLDEN AGE OF WASHINGTON ART, 1875–1915

By 1875 Washington had changed from the squalid town of pre-Civil War days with roving pigs eating the garbage of its ungraded and unpaved streets, to a thriving, prosperous national Capital. Its population had more than doubled and, more importantly, under the genius of the dynamic "Boss" Shepherd, the city had been transformed physically. It had become liveable and cosmopolitan. The renowned journalist Frank G. Carpenter (Carp) described the newly paved streets in 1882 as "clean as your parlour floor," and the streetcar service was excellent. The new municipal amenities—the finest in America—the greatly expanded role of the federal government, and the greatly increased corps of foreign diplomats acted as a magnet for the rich and powerful. Silver barons, bonanza kings, and railroad moguls hastened to establish residence here, at least during the legislative season, as did the ambitious, including scholars, scientists, and artists. Yet, as many visitors noted, the city retained the atmosphere of a quiet, small town, when Congress was not in session.

"After the grimy turmoil of such places as New York, Boston, or Philadelphia," noted the perceptive young Chinese reformer Liang Ch'i-ch'ao of his visit to the Capital in May 1903, "suddenly to arrive here indeed moves one, as does sweet, sad music, the sound of the stringless lute. . . . The city is built entirely in accordance with artistic inspiration and plan. No other city has escaped the vicissitudes of history, or its remains; but Washington springs full-blown from human creativity." Although less bedazzled by the Capital and less inclined to poeticize, even that coruscating scion of one of the country's greatest families, Henry Adams, finally came to accept Washington: "This is the only place in America," he wrote his friend Gaskell, in 1877, "where society amuses me, or where life offers variety. . . . Literary and nonpartisan people are rare here, and highly appreciated. And yet society in its way is fairly complete, almost as choice, if not as large, as in London or Rome. One of these days this will be a very great city if nothing happens to it. Even now it is a beautiful one, and its situation is superb."[1]

Clearly, what appealed to Liang and Adams was the paradoxically placid, timeless character of the Capital. As the center of the nation's temporal power, the city could hardly avoid partaking of the impetuous imperialism of the last quarter century. Yet as the symbolic manifestation of the country's ideals, the city somehow seemed to transcend time and space, largely escaping the gaudy inflations of the Gilded Age. L'Enfant's grand design was finally being realized, and the classic calm it imposed on the Capital distinguished the city from the boisterous irregularities of the booming urban centers from New York to Chicago. The elegiac character of the Capital was further reinforced by its sedate population, whose predominantly "native" makeup reflected the fact that Washington was unique among cities in being unaffected by that massive influx of non-English-speaking immigrants who poured into the great commercial centers. Its foreign immigrants were

mainly from the intelligentsia.

As a result, although the Capital suffered a lack of ethnic variety, it was spared the agonies of those teeming tenements and filthy abattoirs which in other cities had spurred the pens of muckrakers from Jacob Riis to Upton Sinclair. The city did have to cope, however, with the post-Civil War influx of an enormous number of destitute and unlettered blacks from the rural South and their struggle for upward adjustment. Thus Washington too had its slums, but these were generally confined within the alleys that made up the inside of the city blocks whose dignified facades belied their interiors. Indeed, having finally conceded dreams of commercial or industrial empire, Washingtonians came to regard their city as the showpiece of the nation, its logical center of learning and art, and they readily accepted such epithets as "A city of rest and peace," as one Englishman called it, and even Henry James' apt description of the Capital as the "City of Conversation."[2]

Naturally, Washington was not immune to the explosive, creative energies of the Gilded Age, and its urgent pursuit of money, power, and culture. (In fact, it was for Washington that Mark Twain coined the appelation "Gilded Age.") While the city never had residents to match the wealth of Morgan, Carnegie, or the Vanderbilts and Palmers, it nonetheless had its rich who built sumptuous houses, its power brokers, and especially its culture seekers. Moreover, the same "moral" imperatives operated here that energized the great cultural awakening of the last quarter century, which saw the founding of art museums in major cities and a phenomenal increase in the number of art collectors. The pursuit of grandiose schemes—*gesamtkunstwerke*, the Wagnerians called them—was in fact most manifest in Washington, in the completion of the Washington Monument, the design and decoration of the State, War, and Navy Building and the Library of Congress, and in the development and execution of the McMillan Plan—almost all products of the Parisian beaux arts tradition. Indeed, during the Gilded Age, indigenous American culture and the "self-taught" artists so admired in the early century were held in disdain. Inasmuch as study abroad was necessary before one was given serious consideration, there was a wholesale flight of artists to Europe—especially to Paris and Munich—where they were caught up in the multiplication of "styles" of painting and in the establishment of specialized groups to accommodate them. Not the least important phenomenon of the age was the influx of women into the arts on an unprecedented scale.

Although no less immersed in these pursuits than other cities, the Capital was a conservative participant, consistently lagging behind the pace setters, foremost of which was New York. Nonetheless, for the first time in its history, Washington had an abundance of artistic talent and institutions and a population with resources enough to sustain a viable art community. In fact, the four decades from 1875 to 1915 may rightly be claimed the "golden age" of art in Washington.

Of the many artists who were attracted to the Capital during this period, most were employed—consistent with tradition—by federal agencies, and those who were not served increasingly in the burgeoning art schools. Large numbers, proximity, mutual interests, and the spirit of the times naturally led these artists to organize. One of the first indications of a movement in this direction was the petition that fourteen artists addressed in June 1874, to the ever-generous William W. Corcoran. Because of its sentiment and rhetoric, typical of the times, the document bears repeating in full:

The undersigned Artists of this City, knowing that your object in bestowing the magnificent Gift of the Gallery of fine Arts, has been the creation of a more general interest in art and by thus elevating the tastes of the people, serve as the chief instrument of the elevation and development of home art, ask of your munificence, to go one direct step further in this direction by the erection of a Studio Building in the neighborhood of the Gallery. The most powerful influence upon the development of art as well as upon the taste and interest of the people in art matters, would soon become manifest in consequence of such a building. The artists work while growing, would permanently be under the critical eyes of his brother artists and thus the whole little community, from perhaps feeble beginnings, would rise in creative power and art knowledge. It is an old experience of European art centres, as you are well aware, that the near connection of the artists of such places creates that general spirit so indispensable to the development of their calling and which gives tone to their individual productions.

The public also, by gaining easy entrance into the workshops of art, will not fail to become more and more interested in its ways and means and in its productions and will soon learn to discriminate between good and bad art. Only then, when such state of things is arrived at, the magnificence of the Gift of the Gallery, we safely may predict, will begin to emit its most glorious rays.[3]

If the desire of the artists was not precisely or immediately satisfied, their collaborative effort, no doubt, resulted in the establishment in 1877 of the Washington Art Club (with Corcoran as its president), the first formal organization of local artists devoted exclusively to art. As suggested by the press coverage, the initial reception of the club had an electrifying effect on the community, galvanizing it and the artists as never before. As one paper exclaimed, the reception marked "an era in the history of art in the National Capital. . . . The fact that all the principal artists of the city, now quite numerous, have at length united fraternally . . . is of itself, a happy augury. . . ." Also noted in the article was the positive reaction of the local citizenry: "The company of refined ladies and gentlemen which . . . responded to the invitation of the club and filled their parlors and studios to overflowing, shows that not only their individual talent, but their united effort is appreciated by the public.[4]

Once the precedent was set by the Washington Art Club, other organizations followed, the most important of which were: the Art Students League of Washington (1884); the Society of Washington Artists (1890); the Washington Water Color Club (1896); The Fine Arts Union (c.1899); the Washington Society of the Fine Arts (1905); the League for the Decoration of the Public Schools of the District of Columbia (1909); the Landscape Club of Washington, D.C. (1913); the Art and Archaeology League of Washington (1914); and the Arts Club of Washington (1916). Several allied organizations also facilitated the purposes of art in various ways: the Architectural Institute of America (1857), Washington Chapter (1887); the Archaeological Institute of America (1879), Washington Chapter (1902); the Archaeological League of America (1899); the American Federation of Arts (1909); the Commission of Fine Arts (1910); the Public School Art Teachers Association (1910); and the Public Libraries of D.C. Of this group, the last was typical in that it sponsored some notable lectures on art and held exhibitions as well, mostly under the auspices of the Washington Society of the Fine Arts. So great a proliferation of clubs and societies was not unique to Washington, nor were they limited to the area of the arts. Professional groups and humanitarian and conservation societies were rife as well. Almost universally the aim of these groups was to "elevate" the taste or conditions of society, and their pronouncements were invariably replete with high moral purpose, as seen in the petition to Corcoran.

Closely related to these organizations were the many schools of art established during this time, some by groups but many by individuals. With the exception of the Corcoran School of Art, however, none of these schools had the depth, resources, or reputation of such venerable institutions as New York's National Academy of Design or the Pennsylvania Academy of The Fine Arts, or even of newer ones like the Art Students League of New York or the Art Institute of Chicago. In fact, these last two institutions often served as models for Washington schools.

One of the earliest local schools of this period was that of the Washington Art Club, which apparently operated from 1879 to 1885. Almost nothing is known of its program, except that the instructors were Edmund Messer and possibly Eleazer Miller. Most likely sessions were held at Vernon Row, and possibly at the Corcoran Building which William W. Corcoran allowed the club to use for its regular meetings. The benefactor's donation of revenues collected at his gallery on Thursday evenings helped sustain the club, and no doubt its school as well.[5]

In 1884, on the eve of the cessation of the club's school, Messer, Richard Norris Brooke, and several other artists began the Art Students League of Washington. The league was affiliated with its parent institution in New York, and similarly offered a broad range of courses, from life drawings (Fig. 72) to landscape. Several scholarships were offered by the league as well, including a year's study in New York. Among other schools formed were the National Academy of Fine Arts, established by Imogene Morrell in 1879; the Critcher School of Art, run by Catherine Critcher; the Rouzee School of Art, set up by William M. Rouzee; and several

Fig. 72. Edmund Clarence Messer teaching life class at the Art Students League of Washington, c. 1895, by Frances Benjamin Johnston. Library of Congress.

schools of illustration, discussed later. Not the least important were the art courses offered at the District's universities. The Department of Architecture at Columbian (George Washington) University, for example, offered courses in fine arts and watercolor painting, taught variously by Louis Amateis and Emil Meyer, and occasionally by James Henry Moser. For a time, Howard Helmick taught art at Georgetown University, as did Arthur Bryant at Gallaudet College.[6]

By far the most important school in the District, and one of the best in the country, was the Corcoran School of Art. On the appeal of several artists for a place to study, consideration was given as early as 1873 to a school of art to complement the Corcoran Gallery. In the meantime, interested parties were allowed to draw from and copy works in the collection, but such was the need for instruction that in 1877 Eliphalet Andrews began to offer his services gratuitously. After ten years, Andrews was formally elected director and instructor of the newly established Corcoran School of Art, and by 1890 a modest, new building was erected on 17th Street adjacent to the Corcoran Gallery. Very shortly, however, the rapid growth of the gallery collections and of the school demanded larger quarters, and thus the present building was commenced in 1893 and

Fig. 73. Art class, Corcoran School of Art, 1890–92. Center left, F. S. Barbarin, curator of the Corcoran Gallery; center right, E. F. Andrews, director of the Corcoran School of Art. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

completed in 1897. Inasmuch as courses were free, the school was readily accessible to all, and especially allowed a desperately needed avenue of expression for women, who took advantage of the opportunity en masse (Fig. 73).

The premises on which the Corcoran School operated—"That all sound Art effort must be based on tradition, but that Art to have a permanent value must be in touch with the spirit of its time"—kept it within the conservative ranks, but in no degree diminished the immense impact the institution had in welding the art community and in strengthening and encouraging art at home. Indeed, up to 1918, when the heralded Boston Impressionist Edmund Tarbell became director, the school was very much a Washington institution.[7]

In keeping with the cosmopolitan aspirations of the age, artists expended considerable effort and expense in establishing commodious, attractive studios. Although there were none here comparable to Church's spectacular "Olana" or Chase's extravagant quarters in New York, Parker Mann's "Tanglebank" (Fig. 74), Edward Lind Morse's studio, and Alice Pike Barney's "Studio House" were sumptuous enough. Barney's studio in particular epitomized the most elegant establishment which wealth could afford. Built in 1903 on exclusive Sheridan Circle, Studio House (Fig. 75) was designed by Waddy B. Wood in the Mission style, and was filled—modernists would say "cluttered"—with the heterogeneous exotica that so fascinated the age, from primitive Welsh panels, to ornate Spanish Baroque furniture, to art nouveau objects.

Of course most local artists were more modestly situated, many in the Corcoran Building on 15th and F streets, and in Vernon Row on 10th and the Avenue (Figs. 76 and 77). Unlike New York's 10th Street Studio, however, neither of these structures was built expressly for artists' use, nor were they (or the studios of Barney, Mann, or Morse) proximate enough to encourage an artists' quarter such as grew in

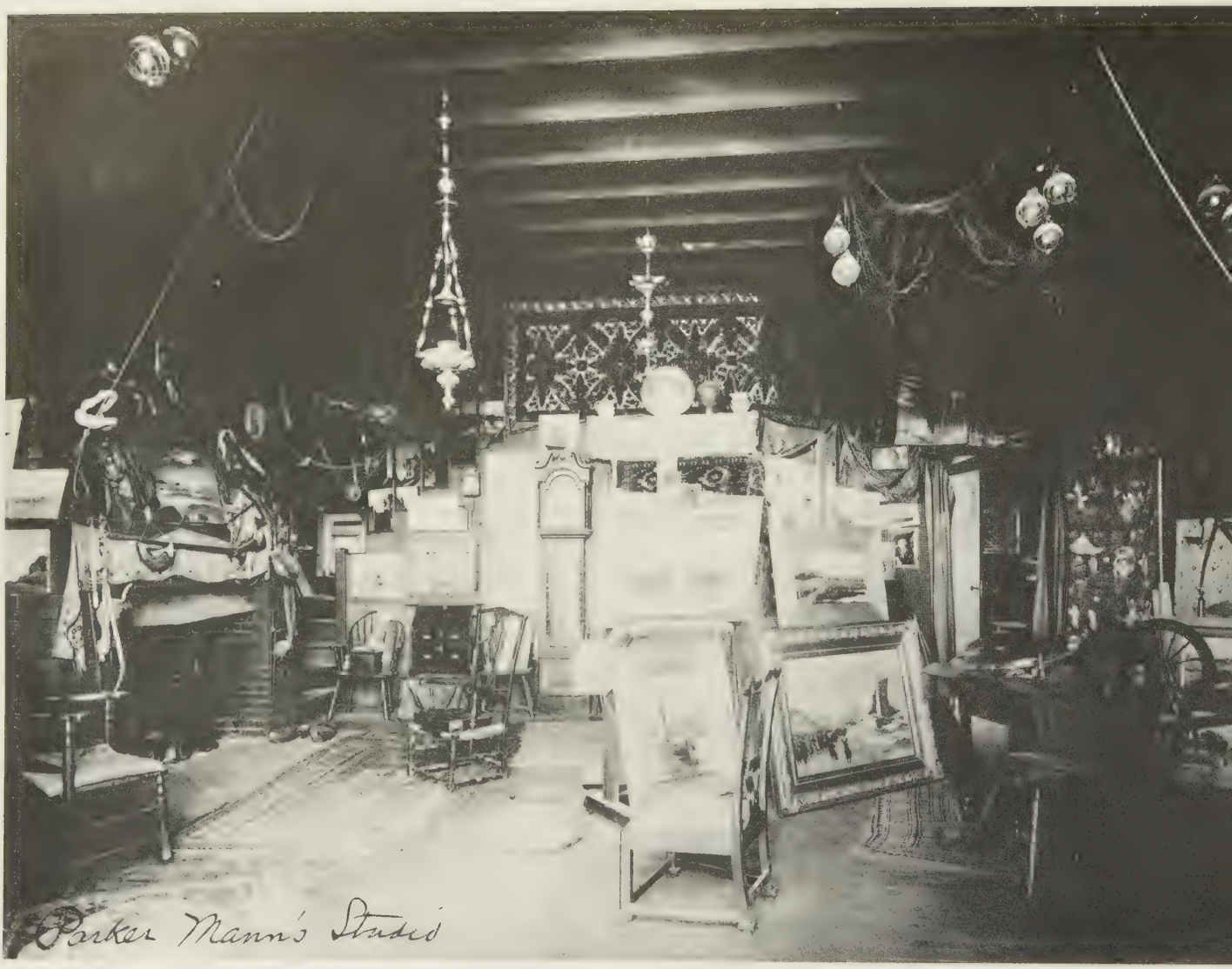


Fig. 74. Parker Mann's studio, "Tanglebank," by Frances Benjamin Johnston. Library of Congress.

Greenwich Village. In an attempt to overcome this diffuseness, Richard Norris Brooke and Max Weyl established their "Barbizon Studio" diagonally across from the old Corcoran Gallery on 17th and the Avenue, but the area was too commercial to foster an enduring artists' community. Eliphalet and Marietta Andrews, by contrast, attempted to sanctify art in their rural Alexandria villa, "Vaucluse," where the studio was filled with ancient tapestries, medieval goblets and armor. Somehow, it seems, the Washington ambience discouraged intense colonization by artists of any one area, although throughout the city's history artists were attracted to the areas around and between the Patent Office and Judiciary Square.

While the Capital's commercial art market grew during the last quarter century, it remained modest relative to those of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Yet several establishments were founded which catered to artists' needs or which specialized in the sale of art objects: Barlow's, Muth's, Venable's, Veerhof's and Fischer's. How important these firms may have been in encouraging a market for local artists needs to be determined, but it is known that Barlow supported local artists, and that Veerhof and Fischer held many important one-man shows. The best artists of the city were sufficiently well known, however, to promote their own works directly at their studios or through exhibitions. In fact, a cursory glance at

Fig. 75. Alice Pike Barney in Studio House, 1909, by Virginia Prall. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of Laura Dreyfus Barney.

Fig. 76. The Corcoran Building on 15th Street, Northwest, between Pennsylvania Avenue and F Street, 1912. Library of Congress.

Fig. 77. Pennsylvania Avenue looking down D Street, Vernon Row to the right, 1885. Woodcut from Stilson Hutchins and Joseph West Moore, *The National Capital Past and Present*, 1885, p. 228.

sales records indicates that local collectors often sold works in New York, even paintings done by hometown artists.

In a brief review written for the *American Art Annual* of 1898, the Washington painter Everett L. Warner said of art collections in the Capital:

For a city that is as yet a comparatively poor market for the sale of pictures, Washington has a surprisingly large number of important private collections; indeed, William Sharp, writing in the Nineteenth Century of the art treasures owned in the United States, accords Washington third place among the cities in the number and value of its collections.

As startling a revelation as Warner's statement is, it needs to be viewed with caution since he seems not to have imposed any limits on whom he considered a "Washington" collector. Included in his list, for example, are Secretary of State John Hay, Senator James M. McMillan, and Phoebe Hearst, all of whom were involved with the city, to be sure, but largely on the federal level. But even discounting these names and several others of similar import, Warner's list is formidable, and could easily be expanded. Among the total of eighteen names the most important were: Thomas E. Waggaman, Ralph Cross Johnson, Samuel H. Kauffmann, Senator James [John?] Henderson, and Charles C. Glover.[8]

Of all the collections cited by Warner, the largest, most remarkable, and most representative of the period was that of Thomas E. Waggaman, a wealthy real estate broker. In addition to the extraordinary Oriental artifacts selected for him by a variety of experts, Waggaman's collection included some eighty-five paintings, the bulk of which were by modern Dutch and French Barbizon masters. Foremost among the

artists and works represented were Anton Mauve, *Sheep Coming Out of the Forest*; Josef Israels, *Grandfather's Consolation*; Jacob Maris, *View of Dordrecht*; Charles E. Jacques, *Moonlight*; Jean-Francois Millet, *The Close of Day*; Camille Corot, *Ville d'Avray*; Constant Troyon, *Cattle at Rest*; Charles-Francois Daubigny, *Summer Landscape*; Théodore Rousseau, *Evening*; Eugène Fromentin, *Arabs on the March*; John Constable, *Heath*; and Alexander Wyant, *Sunset*. Although the magic of many of these names is now diminished contemporaries valued them highly, judging by prices paid for their works (Troyon's *Le retour à la ferme* brought $65,000 in New York in 1908).[9]

Beyond its great significance as a barometer of contemporary taste, the Waggaman collection is a trenchant index of the painters most admired by Washington artists as well. Indeed, the finest productions of late nineteenth-century Capital painters—particularly the landscapes and genre—are indebted to the Dutch and Barbizon masters cited, as well as to their American adherents and interpreters from William Morris Hunt to George Inness to the Old Lyme colony. Something of the reverence in which these artists were held by local painters is sensed in the comments on Waggaman's collection made by Everett Warner, James Henry Moser, and Richard Norris Brooke.

Warner, for example, considered Israels' *Grandfather's Consolation* a "masterpiece in its expression of the sentiment of humble domestic life." Writing on the sale of the Waggaman collection at Mendelssohn Hall in New York, in 1905, Moser could hardly contain himself in commenting on Johannes Bosboom's *In the Church Midwolde, Holland*, a medium-sized watercolor that brought $1,125: "To my mind [it was] the finest water color I ever saw. . . . This is a painter's picture . . . a plain colorless thing of fascinating greys which, to one who has studied them year after year . . . grow only more bewitching and seemingly unattainable." Of a sheep picture by Jacques, Brooke is quoted as saying: "[It] contains the most perfect reproduction of moonlight I know anything about. I never saw so much light in a painted moon. It is superb." It was Brooke, in fact, who had handpicked the paintings for Waggaman, rushing about salons and galleries in Paris, The Hague, and London, "with notebook in hand," he recalled, eyeing the best works, then driving "directly to the artist's studio and negotiat[ing] a purchase."[10]

The few examples known to have been in the Kauffmann collection suggest that it was strong in American works, especially those of the Hudson River school, and that it was, as Warner said of it, "manifestly that of a connoisseur of discrimination and taste." Examples in the collection included, Sanford R. Gifford, *Moat Mountain*; Jervis McEntee, *October*; H.F. Bellows, *Springtime*; John G. Brown *Can't Raise the Wing*; and Elihu Vedder, *The Knight's Signature*. The Henderson collection apparently also had an American emphasis, and was well known locally for its abundant supply of Lucien Powell's works, the Washington artist the Henderson's most admired. Charles Glover's collection seems to have ranged generously, including painters as diverse as William Trost Richards and Leon L'Hermitte. The most specialized collection was Ralph Cross Johnson's, which included works by Reynolds, Gainsborough, Constable, and Turner, and of which Warner wrote, "It is doubtful if there is another collection this side of the water containing such well selected and representative examples of the early English School."[11]

In 1919, Johnson gave a number of his paintings to the National Gallery of Art (as the National Museum of American Art was then called) which had earlier received the collections of Harriet Lane Johnston and William T. Evans. These collections, together with the body of outstanding works at the Corcoran Gallery, and those which Charles Lang Freer gave to the Smithsonian Institution, comprised the initial step in making the Capital one of the early great art centers of the country.

With all the apparatus of clubs, organizations, schools, and galleries available to them, Washington artists had ample opportunities to exhibit their works. Many of the groups had regularly scheduled shows, the most outstanding of which were the annual exhibitions held by the Society of Washington Artists and the Washington Water Color Club. Reflecting the interest and support of the community, the first few exhibitions of the society were held at Woodward and Lothrop's Department Store on F Street, and at the Cosmos Club (which also sponsored many exhibitions of its own). For the

next several years, the society used its own spacious quarters on Connecticut Avenue, where the Water Color Club also exhibited. In 1900, both groups began using the hemicycle of the new Corcoran Gallery of Art for exhibitions. In that year the society made the momentous decision to expand its show to include out-of-town artists, among whom were some of the country's best known: John White Alexander, William Merritt Chase, and Childe Hassam. So successful were these broadened exhibitions that in 1907 the Corcoran Gallery transmuted them into their Biennial Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting, which have continued ever since.[12]

In addition to exhibiting locally, Washington artists also began to show elsewhere. As examples, several participated in the Appalachian Exposition of 1910 in Knoxville, and carried off many of the prizes; in 1911, under the auspices of the American Federation of Arts, the watercolorists joined the Philadelphia Water Color Club in circulating fifty-two works to Denver, San Francisco, Palo Alto (Stanford University), and Milwaukee. Some artists, notably Brooke, Moser, and Holmes, exhibited in New York, the first two at William MacBeth's gallery, the last with the American Water Color Society. Unquestionably the pace of art life at the Capital had quickened visibly. No better indication of this is available than the survey published by the *American Art Annual* in 1914 which ranked the Capital fourth in museum attendance.[13]

It is important to note, however, that the statistic measures attendance at the Corcoran Gallery only. Scores of people, and artists in particular, were attracted there by the Biennials, which from their beginning were heralded by the *American Art Annual*: "The most important exhibitions of paintings and sculpture by American artists have been the one held at the Corcoran Gallery . . . and the Pennsylvania Academy. . . ." Unquestionably, by 1915 the Capital had attained national prominence as a center for the arts, but at no small cost to local tradition. Talented as they were, Washington artists could hardly compete with the likes of Chase and Hassam who, with other Impressionists, dominated the Biennials, but who had no vested interest in the community. In fact, while helping to establish the Capital nationally, the Biennials eclipsed the exhibitions of the humble Society of Washington Artists out of which they grew and, ironically, marked the beginning of the decline of local art, and its recession into dim memory.[14]

At the core of the organizations, schools, and exhibitions were the individual artists, whose numbers exceeded those of any previous period at the Capital. Consistent with the age, their approaches to art varied markedly, and thus make generalizations difficult. Yet, they had much in common, and what applies to artists in New York or San Francisco applies equally to those in Washington.

Freed of the constraints imposed by the crafts and by literalism (which were pre-empted by the machine and photography), and enmeshed in the free market system, artists sought individual expression, creating, as a result, a multitude of styles. Overlying this individualism, however, was a sense of history, born of a host of factors: the growth of art historical studies; archaeological discoveries of exotic cultures and artifacts; availability of illustrations of great and small works from all corners of the globe; ease of travel abroad, allowing firsthand knowledge of great masterpieces of art; and the formation of large collections of art, of museums, and of schools. More difficult to explain is the "aestheticism" of the age, that feeling that art purifies, is exalted, and should be housed, like sacred objects of yore, in "temples." On the practical side, it should be noted that most artists had at least some training abroad, generally in Paris or Munich. Further, most benefited from the new, brilliant pigments made available through chemistry, and without which the effects of Impressionism would have been impossible.

Among the oldest and most conservative of art forms at the Capital was portraiture, which experienced something of a revival in the late nineteenth century. With few exceptions, however, one seeks in vain for paintings of the dazzling beauty of Sargent or Chase, of the subtle eccentricities of Whistler or Dewing, or of the profundity of Eakins. Most portraits done by local artists were of journeyman quality, as seen in the ponderous collection of visages in Cornelia Fassett's *Electoral Commission of 1877 (Florida Case)* (Fig. 78) of 1879, admittedly a triumph of organization following in the tradition of Christian Schussele's more felicitous *Men of Progress*

Fig. 78. Cornelia Adele Strong Fassett (1831–1898), *Electoral Commission of 1877 (Florida Case)*, 1879, oil on canvas, 61½ × 75 in. Architect of the Capitol.

(1862). The diminutive figure of the artist is seen in the foreground, sketch pad in hand, amidst the sea of faces almost all of which were done from life. The scene depicts William Evarts addressing the Electoral Commission which was to decide the outcome of the Hayes-Tilden presidential election of 1876. Because of its historical importance—among other things in documenting the appearance of the Supreme Court Chamber (the old Senate Chamber)—the government bought the painting in 1886.[15] Fassett's individual portraits, it might be added, are characterized by the same tight, inhibited quality of those in the *Commission*.

The penchant for large group portraits, of men of science, men of art, and others, was carried forth by Robert Hinckley, an artist of some means who was intimate with the Boston circle of Sargent and Mrs. "Jack" Gardner. His painting *The First Operation Under Ether* (Fig. 79) may have been conceived as a salon piece when it was begun in Paris in 1882, but it was not completed until 1893 in Washington. The painting depicts the historic moment in 1846 when, at the Massachusetts General Hospital, the use of ether anesthesia was first publicly demonstrated. The operating surgeon was Dr. John C. Warren, the anesthetist William T. Morton, and

Fig. 79. Robert C. Hinckley (1853–1941), *The First Operation Under Ether*, 1882–93, oil on canvas, 98 × 115 in., framed. Boston Medical Library in The Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine.

the patient Gilbert Abbott. The drama of the moment is conveyed by the powerful chiaroscuro, the deep, rich color, and by the attempt, not entirely successful, to interpret the psychological states of participants and onlookers. The mood of the painting and the fact that it required eleven years to complete strongly suggest that the painter struggled toward its realization.[16]

Although less evident in Hinckley's commissioned portraits and in his "Gibson Girl" paintings of models, the taut quality of the *Operation Under Ether* permeates much of his work, revealing a personality of some intensity. It is not surprising, then, to learn of the artist's blunt criticism of the Corcoran School of Art, where he taught, as a "One man power affair," or of his bitterness over the rejection of one of his portraits by the Society of Washington Artists in 1905. Hinckley charged the rejection to the artist-critic James H. Moser, the "Art dictator of the *Post*," as he characterized him, "who wrote that there were only three good portrait painters in the city, and H. was not one of these." As a portraitist of acknowledged reputation, Hinckley naturally was offended, and late in 1905 he wrote to Frederick McGuire of the Corcoran that he was "preparing to shake

the artistic dust of Washington off my feet." By 1910, Hinckley retired to Rehoboth Beach, Delaware.[17]

Two of the major figures in Washington art circles were Eliphalet F. Andrews and Edmund C. Messer. Both were among the city's most influential art teachers, and both were much in demand as portraitists, especially Andrews. As director of the Corcoran School of Art from 1887 to 1902, Andrews (Fig. 73) played a significant role in developing the school. Certainly his decade of voluntary teaching (1877–1887) was crucial to the school's founding, and the quality of its programs must surely owe much to the straightforward comments he regularly addressed to its Board of Directors, as the following to Samuel H. Kauffmann in 1889 demonstrates: "As an institution for elementary and intermediate study, the school is beyond praise."[18]

Despite his heavy administrative responsibilities, Andrews painted numerous portraits, of which those of Presidents Andrew Johnson and James A. Garfield are considered his best. To satisfy the demand for images of heroes of the early Republic, a taste inspired by the Centennial's reflections on American origins and growth, Andrews was often commissioned to copy portraits of such favorites as Jefferson and Jackson, after originals by Stuart and others. These are among his worse efforts. Most curious are his interpretations of historic figures, such as the large painting of Dolley Madison he did for the Cosmos Club in the 1890s. It is, in fact, a costume piece in which the artist seems to have fancifully grafted Stuart's head of Dolley on to a figure garbed in late nineteenth-century dress. Representative of Andrew's best work is his portrait *William Lee* (Fig. 80) of 1893, also done for the Cosmos Club, an incisive characterization which combines the handsome coloring of the Parisian school with the precision of Düsseldorf. Andrews' marriage to his considerably younger student, Marietta Minnigerode, lent an air of romance to the otherwise straight-laced Washington art community, as did their entertainments at their rural retreat near Alexandria, "Vaucluse."

Andrews' successor as director of the Corcoran School was his close friend and associate Edmund Messer, an artist of poetic temperment, whom William Henry Holmes eulogized: "For a number of years he taught and painted and dreamed with his classes [and] became a familiar figure among the hills and valleys and along the picturesque streams" about Washington. Messer began teaching soon after his arrival here in 1870, apparently first opening a school of his own or possibly in conjunction with William Rouzee at Vernon Row. He was also an instructor for the Washington Art Club, and then for many years with the Art Students League (Fig. 72), of which he was a founder. As Holmes noted in his remarks on the fondly remembered artist, "Messer was not a prolific painter, but he achieved enviable success in both portraiture and landscape."[19]

As can be seen in his self-portrait (Fig. 81), Messer was a powerful painter in the traditional mold, combining good design, a solid sense of form, and forceful brushwork to create an image of striking presence. Similar strengths are found in other of his portraits, such as the imposing image of John Wesley Powell (1889), the noted geologist and one of the founders of the Cosmos Club.

The rather dark tonalities, dry, smudgy flesh tones, and deeply serious quality of these works contrast sharply, however, with Messer's landscapes, not many of which are extant. Often in these the brushwork is considerably looser, the palette brighter, and the mood lyrical, strongly suggesting the influence of Messer's abiding friend and assistant as vice-principal at the Corcoran School, Richard Norris Brooke. Messer's landscapes were much sought after and were owned by such collectors as the Ambassadors Cambon and Mendonca, and by the noted black leader, Frederick Douglass who had one of the artist's finest at his home in Anacostia, the neighborhood where Messer also lived for many years.

Laurence Brumidi's rather touching portrait of Fannie Emeline Todd of 1896 (Fig. 82), and his few hazy Venetian scenes, and reticent pastel portraits breathe something of the sadness that surrounded that man's life. Overshadowed throughout by the achievements of his remarkable father, Constantino, whom he assisted at the Capitol, Laurence nonetheless made a name for himself as the first director, in 1888, of the Kansas City Art Association and School of Design. Although there is some hint of a romance between him and a French opera singer,

Fig. 80. Eliphalet Frazer Andrews (1835–1915), *William Lee,*
1893, oil on canvas, 30 × 25 in. Cosmos Club, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 81. Edmund Clarence Messer (1842–1919), *Self-Portrait*, c. 1895, oil on canvas, 44¾ × 32¾ in. The Arts Club of Washington, D.C.

Fig. 82. Laurence S. Brumidi (1861–1920), *Fannie Emeline Todd*, 1896, oil on canvas, 31 × 23 in. (oval). Mildred A Thompson

Laurence's life is largely shrouded in obscurity, which deepened on his admission to St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington.

For sheer painterly dexterity and profundity of characterization, Margaret Lesley Bush-Brown and Harold L. MacDonald were unmatched among Washington portraitists of the period. One of the many talented women artists to grace the Capital in the latter part of the century, Bush-Brown was a student at the Pennsylvania Academy, where she absorbed the probing spirit of Thomas Eakins which so permeated that institution. As is evident in the remarkable portrait of her husband, the sculptor Henry Kirke Bush-Brown (Fig. 83), for example, the artist struck that subtle balance between exacting realism and psychological analysis that Eakins himself so strenuously sought. Her deeply sympathetic interpretation of the genteel, aging sculptor in fact goes beyond Eakins in its broken brushwork and heightened color, signs of her Parisian training, with which she was not entirely pleased. As Bush-Brown's friend and fellow student, Ellen Day Hale observed while they studied in Paris, "I dare say I shall like both these gentlemen, Duran and Henner, better than she did. . . ."[20] Although the Bush-Browns came late to Washington, they soon became vital members of the art community, as Henry Kirke Bush-Brown's election in 1916 as the first president of the Arts Club of Washington indicates.

Although his known works are few, scattered, and rather inaccessible, Harold MacDonald was one of the Capital's most sought-after portraitists, numbering among his sitters, Simon Newcomb, George Cortelyou, Alexander McCue, and Archie Butt. While these official portraits of necessity emphasize likeness, they invariably are strong studies in character, solidly structured, with well-controlled tonal ranges and vigorous brushwork. These same qualities obtain in MacDonald's portrait of his good friend, the artist James Henry Moser (Fig. 84), which is further infused by a warm personal touch and a refreshing overtness, reflective of that zest for life for which the artist was known.

MacDonald was very much a part of the close-knit Washington art community, joining the younger set of artists, including the Nichols and Chandlee brothers and George Gibbs on sketching trips made by boat down the Potomac. Tragically, however, his bright career was devastated by a fall on the ice which resulted in the amputation of his left arm. His rapid decline thereafter was chronicled by Rudolphe de Zapp, president of the Washington Salon, who, in an attempt to assist MacDonald, described his plight in the press:

Poor McDonald,—he was 'down and out' when I happened to see him one cold morning in Judiciary Square where he was sitting on a bench with a stub of a pencil in his hand and a bit of paper sketching the court house side elevation and trees. I thought I recognized him and approached him. He was disgruntled with the world and my reception was not very cordial. I don't blame him one bit. He thought the world was against him. I put him up at the Mission on Louisiana Avenue and another on Four and a half street, but the poor devil was so embittered with the world that he quarreled with everybody and fought. He had to leave the place. . . . I also obtained a few commissions for him for the newspapers. He would now and then come to my studio school in an ugly mood,—but I had the deepest sympathy for him. There was really nothing in life for him. Things went from bad to worse and in connection with Dr. Hickling we managed to get him to St. Elizabeth's where he would be properly taken care of. He didn't last long; it was too much.[21]

There were numerous other portraitists at the Capital, including William T. Mathews, George B. Matthews, Caroline L. O. Ransom, and Freeman Thorpe. G. B. Matthews, the most versatile of the group, also painted genre, historical scenes, and landscapes.

The late nineteenth century's search for individual expression generally encouraged a disposition for small, intimate works, and did little to promote history painting of the sort practiced by the generation of Leutze and Washington. By and large, scenes of historical events were pre-empted by illustrators who popularized them through series of lithographs or in book designs. History painting in its fullest sense, however, that is as mural art such as Brumidi pursued, experienced a phenomenal growth, reflecting the age's deep infatuation with the ideals and images of the Italian Renaissance.

Largely trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts where these ideals were generously inculcated, American architects, painters, and sculptors returned home to build and decorate huge Ital-

Fig. 83. Margaret Lesley Bush-Brown (1857–1944), *Henry Kirke Bush-Brown*, c. 1916, oil on canvas, 46 × 36 in. The Arts Club of Washington, D.C.

Fig. 84. Charles Harold L. MacDonald (1861–1923), *James Henry Moser*, 1888, oil on canvas, 20 × 16 in. Mr. and Mrs. James Moser Fetherolf.

Fig. 85. Augustus Goodyear Heaton (1844–1930), *The Recall of Columbus*, 1882, oil on canvas, 51 × 91 in. United States Senate.

ianate or French Renaissance "palaces" for the wealthy, such as the Vanderbilts' "Breakers" at Newport, or "Biltmore" at Asheville, and to construct ideal neo-Roman urban designs, such as the great "White City" of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Rarely, though, did these artists find such spectacular opportunities as those made available to them in Washington, in the Library of Congress building and decoration project (1895–1897) and in the McMillan Plan (1901) for the revival and elaboration of L'Enfant's plan for the city.

Ironically, as "Washington" as these projects were, they represent with graphic clarity the chasm that existed between the Capital and the city. With the exception of the architects Smithmeyer and Pelz, who designed the Library of Congress, no local artists were involved in these projects. Further, although the projects brought scores of the nation's most famous artists to the Capital—Daniel Burnham, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and Edwin Blashfield, to name but three—these artists almost invariably had their studios elsewhere, and they participated only in groups and activities of national rather than local import, such as the American Federation of Arts, and the Corcoran Biennial. Indeed, just as the influx of nouveaux riches made "cave-dwellers" of old-time Washingtonians, the importation of so many esteemed talents was another of those factors contributing to the gradual recession into obscurity of local artists.

Of the few who continued the tradition of easel history painting, perhaps none was more persistent than Augustus Heaton, a Philadelphia Quaker who settled in Washington in 1884, built a home and studio, and remained until his death in 1930. Heaton was the first foreign student to enter the Ecole des Beaux Arts after its reorganization, studying with Alexandre Cabanel and later Léon Bonnat. On his first trip to Paris in 1863, Heaton accompanied the curator of the Pennsylvania Academy, Robert Wylie, one of the first of many American artists to explore the coastal villages of Brittany, long before the Frenchmen Bernard and Gauguin. However, Heaton did not join Wylie in

his explorations, nor would his religious beliefs allow him to enjoy the raucous life of Paris with other art students, whom he later characterized as "so base in their dissipation and so vulgar in language and mode of license as to disgust anyone of true sentiment and refinement." Nonetheless, Heaton was successful in his work, and in the Salon of 1880 won distinction for his large painting *The Bathing Hour at Trouville,* which was described as the "work of a painter with a highly endowed temperament as a colorist."[22]

The legacy of Cabanel's composition and Bonnat's color can be seen in Heaton's impressive painting *The Recall of Columbus* (Fig. 85), completed in 1882 in the studio of the sculptor Chauncey Ives in Rome. Purchased by the Congress in 1883, the *Recall,* and Heaton's *Hardships of Emigration* were reproduced in 1893 and 1898 as fifty- and ten-cent stamps, respectively. Heaton was not so lucky with his large painting *The Historical Portrait Group,* which depicted "the promoters of the new Library building." A bill for its purchase was submitted to Congress in 1906 and defeated. The painting, now unlocated, hung for years in the YMCA building.[23]

A man of vigorous constitution, Augustus Heaton was active in several local groups, including the Literary Society and the Cosmos Club, whose art committee he chaired. Along with Samuel H. Kauffmann and William H. Holmes, Heaton cultivated art interests within the Cosmos Club, which, in 1890, held a successful exhibition of local artists' works reportedly attended by some four thousand people. Among the exhibiting artists was Heaton's close friend Reuben LeGrande Johnston, with whom he may have gone to Tangiers years earlier, and whose interest in bucolic scenes he no doubt encouraged. Heaton himself often painted barnyard scenes with barefoot French peasant girls tending cows or sheep, themes common during that period, especially among French-trained artists.[24]

The *Surrender of Lee to Grant* of about 1875 (Fig. 86) is one of the better-known history paintings of the period, in fact overshadowing its maker, Louis Mathieu Didier Guillaume. French born, Guillaume studied under Delaroche whose highly successful, flamboyant style he brought with him to America, and which is evident in the stylish portrait of William Wilson Corcoran (Fig. 87). Not a little of that polished style permeates the *Surrender*—an interesting contrast to Washington's Düsseldorfian *The Burial of Latané* (Fig. 35)—glossing it with a continental air not entirely appropriate to the event, although in no way diminishing the documentary significance of the painting.

According to an 1875 catalogue of the collection of Henry C. Lewis, who bequeathed the painting to the University of Michigan in 1895, Guillaume was present at the surrender and had made sketches of the room, its appointments, and the participants. Reportedly, he later had sittings with both Grant and Lee, and Grant is said to have considered the entire representation eminently successful. Nevertheless, the ramrod stiffness of the principal figures suggests the use of photographs (Lee looks like a Brady portrait), while the strangely waxen-work quality about the subordinates suggests that Guillaume may have painted from a maquette. Still, the sense of dignity that pervades the painting accords well with the recollection of Colonel Charles Marshall, the only Confederate officer present with Lee at the surrender:

> *Perhaps the most impressive feature of that occasion was the fact that there American soldiers met together, who dealt with each other as American soldiers. If the officers of General Grant's Army had been instructed how to act; if they had learned their parts; if they had been taught by the greatest actors how to play them, how to act at a time when one of the loftiest souls that God ever sent upon earth was humbled, how to act so as to show their respect and veneration, they could not have done better than they did.*[25]

"Liking unto man," wrote Carl Gutherz to Elliott Wood, the Architect of the Capitol, "a Building represents the physical construction—the decoration upon and within it, represents that which resembles him mentally and spiritually. . . ." In his laborious style, Guthrez was ruminating on the designs he was preparing for the Supreme Court building in 1902, and in the process instinctively reflected those high ideals characteristic of the men of the American "Renaissance." Gutherz had come to Washington in 1896 to fulfill the commission he received for one of the many murals in the Library of Congress. He stayed, certainly, because of the pos-

Fig. 86. Louis Mathieu Didier Guillaume (1816–1892),
Surrender of Lee to Grant, c. 1875, oil on canvas, 60 × 72 in.
U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service,
Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, Virginia.

sibility of additional commissions, but no doubt also because he must have felt quite at home among the large, friendly group of local artists, so many of whom had studied at the Julian Academy in Paris under his good friends Jules Lefebvre, Gustave Boulanger, and Jean Jacques Henner. Gutherz himself was a critic at Julian's, reviewing the works of such American students as Childe Hassam, Thomas Dewing, and Cecilia Beaux, and perhaps even those of some Washingtonians. In any case, he was the only one of the Library of Congress artists to make Washington his permanent residence.[26]

When he came to the Capital, Gutherz was already internationally known. His *Awakening of Spring* (1872), a sensuously draped female figure in the manner of Cabanel, received special recognition at the Centennial Exposition (and possibly was exhibited at the Corcoran Gallery in 1880), and his *Arcessita ab Angelus* (1889), a reflection on death, was highly praised at the Paris salon. The latter work, depicting two winged angels transporting a dead woman to the celestial spheres, reflects the Symbolist spirit that Gutherz shared with many of his friends: Puvis de Chavannes, Stephane Mallarmé, George F. Watts. Indeed, Gutherz's finest works are in that vein, and among them is the Library of Congress mural known as the *Spectrum of Light*. Divided into seven panels each suffused by one of the colors of the spectrum and dominated by an allegorical figure representing human or divine attributes, the mural embodies Gutherz's attempt at synaesthesia—the mystical fusion sought by Symbolists, of color, spirit, and matter into one palpable whole. The central panel, for example, represents Divine Intelligence calling forth light,

Fig. 87. Louis Mathieu Didier Guillaume (1816–1892), *William W. Corcoran*, c. 1880, oil on canvas, 50 × 40 in. Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

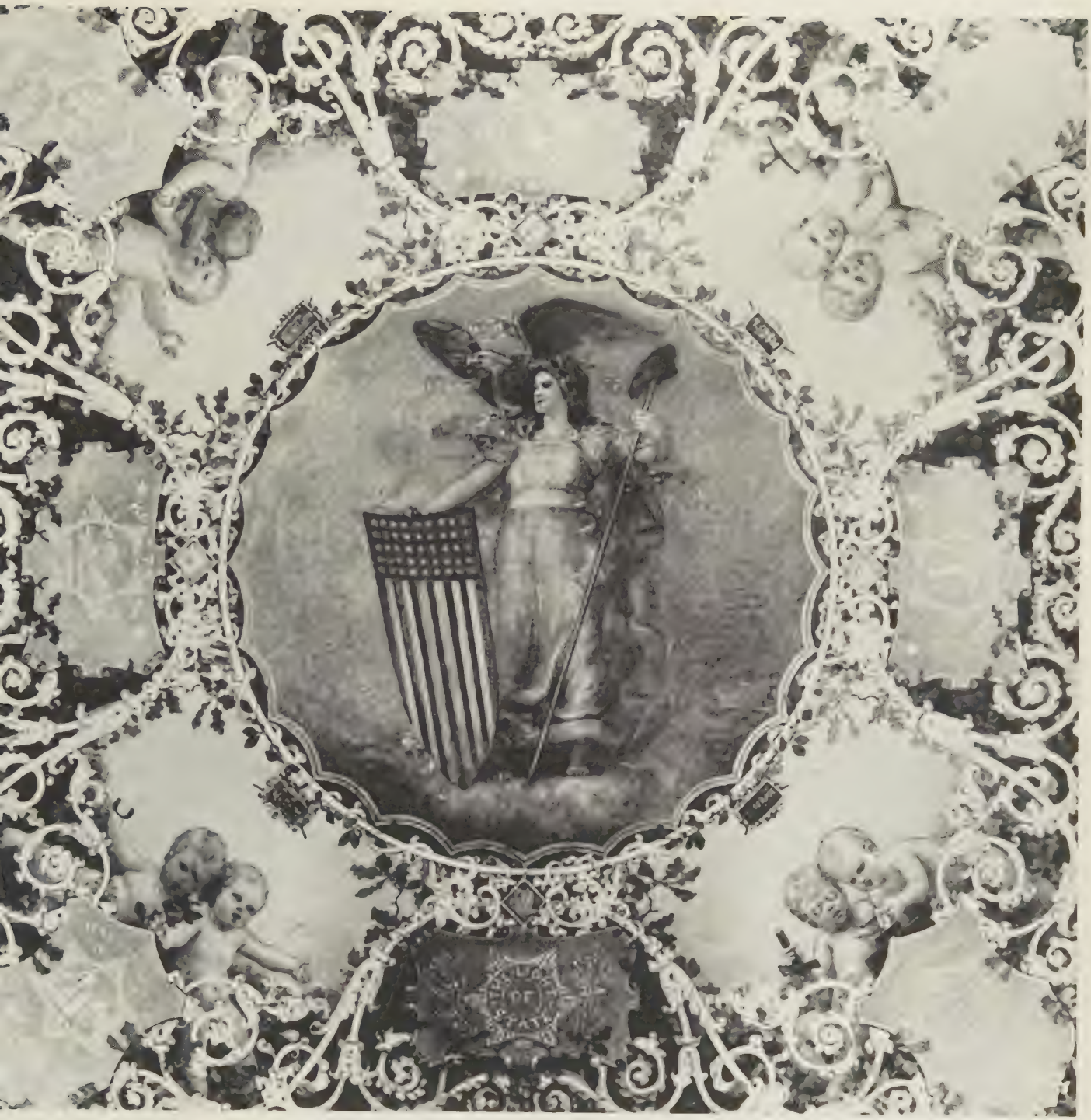


Fig. 88. Carl Gutherz (1844–1907), *The Light of State* (one of seven panels of the *Spectrum of Light*), 1896, oil on canvas. House of Representatives Reading Room, Library of Congress.

within whose illuminating yellow brilliance she is swathed. Another panel *The Light of State* (Fig. 88) depicts Columbia armed, and bathed in violet, which issues from the union of red, white, and blue—the colors of America, the ideal state.[27]

Like other adherents of Symbolism at the Capital, Gutherz no doubt found the local community unreceptive to such ideas. Consequently, he turned increasingly to portraits and to "realistic" subjects. His *I Promised the Missus I'd Bring Him Home* of 1904 (Fig. 89) reverts to

Fig. 89. Carl Gutherz (1844–1907), *I Promised the Missus I'd Bring Him Home*, 1904, oil on canvas, 45½ × 59 in. Memphis Brooks Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Marshall F. Goodheart.

the Civil War themes he had done earlier, reiterating their cry on the futility of war and their trust in the humanity of man. In a sense, the *Missus* complements Gutherz's *Farming in Dakota* (1885), now unlocated (though purchased by the government in 1887), about which the artist wrote: "I saw the army of plows moving in measured tread over the vast plains . . . men from all nations gathered in contented toil drawing from the earth its fullness. Whilst in Europe their brothers were forcibly drilled in modes of warfare."[28]

Once genre and still life painting had taken root early in the century, they developed rapidly, reaching an initial climax in the works of such artists as William Sydney Mount and Severin Roesen. Although ranked lower than history or landscape paintings, these forms attained great popularity from the 1840s on. Works then were relatively modest in scale and easily categorized: genre usually inclined toward scenes of rustic life, and still lifes were mostly fruit and flower pieces of the Dutch type. With the conclusion of the Civil War, however, and the dissolution of the hierarchy of picture types, both genre and still life were dramatically expanded to accommodate the complex moods of the Gilded Age. Works gen-

erally became much larger, often denying their intrinsic intimacy of subject, and indefinably varied. Styles ranged from the drolleries of Charles C. Nahl to the disconcerting realities of Charles Ulrich, in genre; and in still life, from the titillating illusionism of William Harnett to the arcane raptures of John La Farge.

In the ante-bellum period, Capital artists had made a vital contribution to the growth of genre and still life through the seminal works of King, Johnson, and Way. However, in the last quarter of the century, when these forms once again rose to prominence, the Capital, with a few exceptions, had less to offer. Local artists, it seems, spent most of their energies on landscape and figure painting.

Unquestionably, Washington's premier genre painter (and also a superb portraitist and landscapist) was Richard Norris Brooke (Fig. 90), a Virginia patrician who came out of Warrenton. Brooke was first among several artists who brought a national distinction to the Washington art community, and who were instrumental in making it more professional through the establishment of schools, clubs, and exhibitions. But Brooke was no mere activist. He was a humble man of rare intellect and sensibilities, and deep convictions about art, who constantly sought to perfect his work in the mixed light of his own aesthetic imperatives and those of new developments. That he was one of the few local artists who could effectively compete with the invading talents of Chase and others in the expanded exhibitions of the Society of Washington Artists is a mark of his success. The local art critic Leila Mechlin wrote of him on his death in 1920, "Had he settled in New York . . . he would probably have taken a leading part in the art world of the metropolis. But . . . he liked Washington and here were his chosen comrades, Mr. Messer, Mr. Moser, Max Weyl, E.H. Miller. . . . It will be hard to find a more delightful coterie . . . true artists all—congenial spirits."[29]

Brooke's *A Dog Swap* (Pl. III) is among his best genre pieces, although far less known than its earlier companion, *A Pastoral Visit* (Fig. 91). Both works deal honestly, but not unromantically, with the life of blacks in the post–Civil War South, and both are conceived as salon pieces, by definition large and ambitious projects. Yet, although complementary in subject matter and painted in the same year, 1881, the two pictures differ vastly. *A Pastoral Visit* is a typically academic work, slickly glazed and skillfully composed in a self-contained ellipse, with figures and background calculated to convey, as one writer romantically put it, "a life simple, natural, and contented, and a people genuine, guileless, and affectionate."[30]

In contrast, *A Dog Swap* is fragmented in its composition, the distended center polarizing focal points on either side and obscuring the drama. Further, the paint is applied in thick patches that underscore the tensions, in the manner of Bastien LePage's influential *plein air* paintings. In short, while the *Pastoral Visit* is satisfying in its effect, no doubt explaining its immense popularity, *A Dog Swap* is disturbingly unresolved and thus, some would say, more "modern."

Questions naturally arise about the differences in the two paintings. For example, one wonders if Brooke knew Eastman Johnson's *Old Kentucky Home* and if it influenced his own related works; or whether the year intervening between the conception of the two works had any impact on their character. Brooke had been in Paris for some years prior to painting the *Pastoral Visit*, and his recollection of his frame of mind is revealing, "You see I saw the opportunity with the eyes of one from the Continent. . . . My painting was a true picture, a sincere reproduction of a phase of pastoral life familiar to every American. But the war changed everything. The romance, the essential pastoral qualities of negro life were undermined. I had caught the last flashes of a fast changing social order." That the restiveness in Brooke's *Dog Swap* may have been due to his growing awareness of the depths of these changes, and others, seems an intriguing possibility. Despite their differences, however, the paintings share a certain gravity whose genesis Brooke explained to the members of the Corcoran Board of Directors in addressing them about the purchase of the *Pastoral Visit*; "It has been my aim, while recognizing in proper measure the humorous features of my subject, to elevate it to that plane of sober and truthful treatment which, in French Art, has dignified the Peasant subjects of Jules Breton, and should characterize every work of art."[31]

A comparison of Brooke's *Dog Swap* and his

Fig. 90. Richard Norris Brooke by Frances Benjamin Johnston.
Library of Congress.

Fig. 91. Richard Norris Brooke (1847–1920), *A Pastoral Visit*, 1881, oil on canvas, 47¾ × 65¾ in. In the collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Museum Purchase.

Furling the Flag (Fig. 92) illustrates the benefits of European study. The latter is one of Brooke's earliest paintings, and represents Confederate soldiers at Appomattox "looking on with emotion," as the artist noted in his record book, "while the tattered battle flag is furled for the last time." The painting was done in 1871 while Brooke taught at the Virginia Military Institute, where he succeeded to the Chair of Fine Arts left vacant by the death of the history painter William D. Washington, also a Capital artist. Indeed, the subject of Brooke's *Furling the Flag* parallels those of Washington's, such as his *Burial of Latané* (Fig. 35). Although there is no firm evidence for the assumption, Washington is thought to have been Brooke's first instructor.[32]

After 1881, Brooke devoted himself almost entirely to landscape painting, forming, with Holmes, Messer, Moser, Weyl, and others, what may rightly be called the "Washington Landscape School." Brooke's *Maryland Countryside* (Fig. 93) typifies the group's paintings, obviously heavily indebted to the Barbizon school as well as to the modern Dutch masters, those artists whose works Brooke searched out for the Waggaman collection. But Brooke's *Landscape* is no pastiche. It is a good example of his ability to combine, in a fresh way, fact and poetry with the new impulses he felt toward broken brushwork and color inspired by Impressionism. After the turn of the century, Brooke frequently painted at Gloucester, and the vibrant color and expressiveness of his seascapes owe much, as he acknowledged, to nature and to the goal of all art, which he

Fig. 92. Richard Norris Brooke (1847–1920), *Furling the Flag*, 1871, oil on canvas, 22 × 30 in. West Point Museum Collections, United States Military Academy, New York.

believed was the "ultimate expression of light."

The only local artist who specialized in genre was Howard Helmick. Although well known at home as an art teacher and illustrator, Helmick had made his reputation in England through his series of etchings on the life of Carlyle and, as the critic Charles M. Skinner noted in 1896, "by the cleverest character studies of the Irish peasantry ever given to public view. . . . He is now doing for the negroes of the South what he has done for the west coast peasant-folk of the Emerald Isle."[33]

While a number of Helmick's Irish scenes are still to be found in British collections, at Aberdeen and Sheffield, none of his black studies is known, possibly because they were done as illustrations for *Harper's* and for *Century* magazines, and are as yet undiscovered. Whatever the case, his charming paintings *The Scribe* (Fig. 94) and *The Emigrant's Letter* clearly reflect Helmick's European orientation. Their subjects, mood, and character relate the paintings to the English rustic traditions of John Opie and George Morland, and also to the Frenchman Louis Boilly, all artists, by the way, represented in William W. Corcoran's collection.

Several other artists who occasionally painted genre scenes were Edward Selmar Siebert, Flor-

Fig. 93. Richard Norris Brooke (1847–1920), *Maryland Countryside*, c. 1885, oil on canvas, 19½ × 30 in. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Barry M. Fitzpatrick.

ence Wolf Gotthold, and Emil Meyer. Siebert's *At the Club* (Fig. 95) may represent the card and billiard room at the old Cosmos Club, and is representative of a widespread interest among artists in interiors. Although dictated by the darkness of the room, the dense tonalities of the picture nonetheless are indicative of Siebert's extensive training in Germany.[34]

The rich interior of *At the Club* is no more dictated by its subject, however, than is the austerity which permeates Florence Wolf Gotthold's attractive *A Difficult Task* (Fig. 96). The poor, but studious young black sits amid surroundings graced only by a water glass—a bit of virtuoso painting—containing the common, yet beautiful, homegrown zinnia. The whole is a sentimental paean to the struggling black and also to the virtues of industry, similarly preached in the works of John G. Brown and in the endless tales of hard-won success by Horatio Alger. Gotthold was actually a New York artist, but as the daughter of the well-known local lawyer and philanthropist, Simon Wolf, she had long and close ties with the Capital. Emil Meyer's works ranged from landscapes to still life and genre, the last very much in the style of the modern Dutch artists.

The subject of the poor, struggling black obviously had great currency among artists of the Gilded Age. Unlike Winslow Homer, however, and to some extent Richard Norris Brooke, whose unrelenting realism resulted in a valid heroization, most artists overlaid their interpretations with a romantic veneer comparable to that applied to images of the vanishing Indian. More attuned to the actualities of black culture, it seems, were the photographers, among whom none were more sympathetic and powerful in their interpretations than the Washington artists Frances Benjamin Johnston and

Fig. 94. Howard Helmick (1845–1907), *The Scribe*, 1886, oil on canvas, 24 × 18 in. Private Collection.

Fig. 95. Edward Selmar Siebert (1857–1944), *At The Club*, c. 1885, oil on canvas, 27 × 36 in. Cosmos Club, Washington, D.C.

Addison Scurlock. Johnston's *Poor Black Couple at Supper* (Fig. 97), for example, combines, with the same honest intensity, the best qualities in Brooke's *Pastoral Visit* and *Dog Swap*, and conveys also something of her indomitable spirit. A beer-drinking, cigarette-smoking, ankle-revealing feminist, Johnston added a zest to the community of artists from the moment she arrived in 1885. She is best remembered for her incisive portraits of local artists and for her marvelous studies on industry, the South, the Rocky Mountain west, and especially southern architecture.[35]

Among the genre painters was a large group whose works have a strangely imaginative content that distinguishes them from the outright depictions of daily life. The slanted light in one, the aroma of dead roses in another, the overtly fashioned dress of yet another lend these works a unique air of suggestiveness and genteel refinement. Numbered among these artists were some of the best of the period, and though only three can be discussed here—Ellen Day Hale, Kate Holmes, and George Gibbs—others deserve serious study: Jane B. Child, William F. Curtis, Jules A. Dieudonne, Berta Hanson, Loretto Lowenstein, and Bertha E. Noyes.

"I don't think I shall ever do anything very astonishing," wrote Ellen Day Hale while studying in Paris, "but I shall be to blame if I don't express . . . something which no one else has happened to express before." One of that remarkable group of Boston women whose

Fig. 96. Florence Wolf Gotthold (1858–1930), *A Difficult Task*, 1887, oil on canvas, 28½ × 22½ in. Henry H. Glassie, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 97. Poor Black Couple at Supper, c. 1899, by Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1942), photograph, 7 7/16 × 9 3/8 in. Library of Congress.

careers in art were shaped by William Morris Hunt, Hale was a mature artist when she came to Washington in 1904 with her father, the Senate Chaplain and author of *Man Without A Country*, Edward Everett Hale. Yet, Ellen Day Hale created here some of her best paintings and etchings. Perhaps the generous pace of Capital life and her stimulating friendships with such as the Theodore Roosevelts and Gifford Pinchots ameliorated her burdensome domestic and social duties—Hale had helped raise seven younger brothers, and as her niece recalled, spent "her middle years . . . looking after a semi-invalid mother and a famous, sought-after, impractical, extrovert father."[36]

Hale's remarkable *Morning News* (Pl. IV) and *The Green Calash* (Fig. 98) were painted shortly after her arrival here, and alone more than fulfill her modest prophecy of expressing "something" unique to herself. Perhaps few natives would agree, but *Morning News* seems to distill much of the essence of Washington. It is a deliciously sensuous painting, filled with the color and fragrance of peonies, the lady assured and wordly in her demeanor, yet enshrouded in a sigh of nostalgia. In his more generous

Fig. 98. Ellen Day Hale (1855–1940), *The Green Calash*, 1904, oil on canvas, 50 × 26 in. Julee A. Rosso.

moments, Henry Adams "painted" many a comparable word picture about Washington. Indeed, Saint-Gauden's deeply moving memorial to Mrs. Adams, in Rock Creek Park, embodied, to Adams' profound approval, similar inexpressible emotions. It must have been that monument, in fact, and the ubiquity of the shrouded woman that inspired Hale's *Green Calash*, a more overtly symbolic comment on the withdrawn underside of the brash Gilded Age.

Inasmuch as Hale and Margaret Lesley Bush-Brown had studied together at the Pennsylvania Academy and in Paris, it is not surprising that their styles and interests overlapped. Just as she had encouraged other women to study at Julian's, the Paris studio she considered the best and most hospitable to women, perhaps Hale also led the Bush-Browns to Washington. Certainly it was she who brought to the Capital Gabrielle de Veaux Clements, her intimate companion of many years and a graphic artist of great skill. For years Hale and Clements shared "The Thickets," a house and studio on Cape Ann, despite the warning of Hale's younger brother Philip (a well-known Boston Impressionist), who said, "Don't do it. She's juggernaut. She'll flatten you out." It was Clements nonetheless who introduced Ellen Day Hale to etching, in which she was also eminently successful. Hale, Clements, and Lesley Jackson, in fact, formed a progressive circle of graphic artists at the Capital that deserves study.[37]

Unlike Hale, Kate Clifton Osgood Holmes was married. Her artistic life was thus interrupted by family concerns, and moreover was overshadowed by that of her husband, William Henry Holmes. Still, between performing chores and teaching design at the Madeira School, Holmes occasionally painted a still life or genre piece. Like Hale's works, her *Summer* (Fig. 99) evokes that reflective, withdrawn mood characteristic of so many paintings of the period. Holmes' sources, however, were not only the Parisian studios, but also the works of American Impressionists, such as Frank Benson and Edmund Tarbell, who exhibited often at the Corcoran Biennials.

The handsome, large pastel *Woman Playing Croquet* by George Fort Gibbs (Fig. 100) has none of the obliquity of the works considered above, but the fashionable young lady intently concentrating on her game is not commonplace either. She is a statement of elegance and progressive feminism, and probably served as one of the hundreds of illustrations Gibbs did for the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *Metropolitan Magazine*, or for the more than fifty novels he wrote. Gibbs' success as an illustrator dated to his years at the Corcoran School of Art, as indicated by a letter of April 1899 from Director Andrews to the Art Committee. Recommending an awards committee of three, Andrews included Gibbs, "one of our best pupils & well established as an illustrator in Philadelphia." How long Gibbs maintained a studio in Washington (Fig. 101) is not known, but despite his move to Pennsylvania, he remained close to Capital groups and artists, especially those with whom he went boat-sketching on the Potomac—Hobart Nichols, Will Chandlee, Charles H. MacDonald.[38]

During the Gilded Age most artists at one time or another tried their hand at still life painting, some presumably attracted by the freedom from constraints it allowed, others challenged by the idea of infusing a humble form with exalted ideas or styles. At the Capital, the best of those who more or less specialized in still life were William H. Machen, Marietta M. Andrews, and Zuleima B. Jackson. Others who might be mentioned were Lillian Abbott, Richard Engel, and Mrs. Flavius Fisher.

Among the most intriguing of these painters was William Henry Machen, a Dutchman by birth who moved from the midwest to Washington in 1894. While nothing is known of Machen's art training, his inclination toward precision and the breadth of his subject matter—portraiture, landscape, genre, and still life—suggest he had absorbed something of the traditions of his native Holland before leaving at the age of fifteen. An amateur naturalist, Machen seemed to delight most in still lifes, which he began painting in Toledo in the 1850s and which included tabletop fruit pieces, flower arrangements, and dead game pieces. The latter, perhaps inspired by the Currier and Ives popular animal prints and those of Thomas Hinckley's works, include hunting trophies, which are among Machen's best paintings.[39]

As is evident in the *Dead Hare* (Fig. 102), Machen was capable of an intense realism and exquisite detail on the order of William Har-

Fig. 99. Kate Clifton Osgood Holmes (1858–1925), *Summer*, 1903, oil on canvas, 19⅝ × 14⅝ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of Dr. and Mrs. William H. Holmes.

Fig. 100. George Fort Gibbs (1870–1942), *Woman Playing Croquet*, c. 1900, pastel, 36 × 24 in. The Calvert Collection, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 101. To the right, George Fort Gibbs in his studio; left, Mills Thompson, c. 1899, by Frances Benjamin Johnston. Library of Congress.

nett's *Trophy of the Hunt* (1885). Obviously, the two works have much in common, but even a cursory comparison shows that they also differ. While retaining the vertical format and life-size scale essential to the trompe l'oeil effect, Machen used a plain wall background as opposed to the hinged cabin door that Harnett preferred. Further, Machen's hare is nailed directly to the wall and is painted with more impasto than Harnett's.

Similar characteristics obtain in Machen's hanging fowl trophies, although in these the birds are strung up on nails in the wall, and in one instance against a heavily grained wooden fence. Again, while suggestive of the works of Harnett and his followers, such as Cope, Machen's trophies are more austere, less playful and imaginative in spirit. In this respect, they have even less in common with the paintings of Richard La Barre Goodwin, whose three-year stay at the Capital ended shortly before Machen's arrival. It appears, then, that although he was conscious of current movements in trompe l'oeil painting, Machen turned to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch sources for inspiration.[40]

Few still lifes at the Capital distill the essence of floral beauty better than do *Daisies, Queen*

Fig. 102. William Henry Machen (1832–1911), *Dead Hare*, c. 1885, oil on canvas, 26⅛ × 13⅛ in. Mrs. Margaret Anne Slagle, Annandale, Virginia.

Anne's Lace in a Vase and *Hollyhocks* (Figs. 103 and 104). Representative of the poles of flower painting, from the composed arrangement to the natural garden variety, the paintings were done by two women whose lives were equally dissimilar. Marietta Minnigerode Andrews, artist, writer, and wife of the director of the Corcoran School of Art, was as delicate, elegant, yet as unpretentious as the flowers she painted. In contrast, the robust reds and generative power of the unabashedly open and roughly textured hollyhocks were appropriate equivalents of the strength and fortitude of their maker, Zuleima Bruff Jackson. While Andrews had access to the finest academic training available to women, at the Corcoran School and at Paris and Munich, Jackson was homegrown, so to speak, receiving her training as a "Designing Artist" from her father, the indomitable Joseph Goldsborough Bruff. How appropriate, then, that Andrews *Daisies* should lapse into the orientalizing nuances of John LaFarge and James McNeill Whistler, and that the unadorned though not unpoetic realism of George Cochran Lambdin should find expression in Jackson's *Hollyhocks*.

Like other talented women of the period, too often overlooked, Andrews and Jackson were remarkably productive, despite the burdens of family life. Andrews, for example, spearheaded the founding of the Washington Water Color Club (1896); taught art classes in the summer at her and her husband's hideaway "Vaucluse" near Alexandria; cut, with uncanny speed and skill, hundreds of silhouettes; wrote and produced pageants; and, not the least, wrote the most saucy books on local life to whet the Capital palate in decades, such as *Memoirs of a Poor Relation* (1918). Jackson apparently designed plate decorations and floral motifs for lithographs, and probably assisted her father in his museum. Her many paintings of peonies and roses and outdoor climbing morning glories suggest more than a passing interest in flowers. Jackson's daughter, Nellie Proctor, was a painter also, the third of a continuing line of artists in the Bruff family.[41]

Despite the great advances made by blacks immediately after the Civil War, from the late 1870s on their relations with whites eroded rapidly. How rapidly may be seen in the Supreme Court's declaration in 1883 that the Civil Rights

Fig. 103. Marietta Minnigerode Andrews (1869–1931), *Daisies, Queen Anne's Lace in a Vase,* 1890, watercolor, 11⅝ × 9 in. In the collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Gift of Clement Ellis Conger.

Act of 1875 was unconstitutional, a decree that was expanded in 1914 to include the District of Columbia. Given the political, social, and economic ramifications of this one factor alone, as might be expected opportunities in art throughout this period were minimal for blacks, and in Washington, practically non-existent. Unlike New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, where several established art institutions at least accepted black students of proven ability—Edward M. Bannister and Henry O. Tanner are the classic examples—at the Capital none of the art schools is known to have enrolled blacks. To be sure, occasional courses in drawing, design, and painting were offered in the segregated public schools and at Howard University, but beyond these nothing was available. Blacks with aspirations in art could go south to various institutes, where training was equally scant, but those most determined to succeed, and who could afford to, went abroad.[42]

Under these conditions, it is hardly surprising that few black artists were to be found at the Capital during this period. Even among those few some are known only by name, and of those whose works are extant, most are shrouded in obscurity. For example, among the members of the distinguished Wormley family, two were artists and teachers: William Stanton Wormley and Clarence King Wormley. Both

Fig. 104. Zuleima Bruff Jackson (1843–1915), *Hollyhocks*, 1888, oil on canvas, 44 × 21 in., sight. In the collection of the artist's granddaughters, Mary Procter Keyser and Thelma G. Procter.

taught art in the District system, but except for the fact that Clarence studied art briefly in Boston, nothing else is known of their activities. Less abbreviated are the facts concerning William Ernest Braxton, who was born in Washington in 1878, studied painting at Adelphi College, participated in the Harmon Foundation exhibitions of 1928 and 1929, and died in 1935.[43] Thus far, however, none of his works has been located.

More pertinent are those artists whose works are available. The resourceful Daniel Freeman, for instance, was a photographer and, according to a description in the Union League Directory, "a natural born artist; his pastel and crayon work is of a high order and merit. The scenery in his studio is from his own brush."[44] How apt was the description is seen in the pastel portraits *Frederick Douglass* (1895) and *Della Bundy* (1892), the artist's niece. Although both bear witness to the influence of the photograph, the sense of immediacy and subtle modeling of *Frederick Douglass* (Pl. V) suggest direct access to the subject, in which case the portrait would have been among the last of the great abolitionist.

In contrast to *Douglass*, the *Bundy* portrait (Fig. 105), with its neatly patterned delineations, reveals the hand of the primitive. The realism of the one and the naiveté of the other are not contradictory, but rather signal the characteristic contention within the primitive of the forces of actuality and idea.

Daniel Freeman was active in society and in art affairs as well. He organized the Washington Amateur Art Society and installed the District's exhibit of black art in the Negro Building at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895. Nothing more is known of these two significant events, but they strongly suggest there was an organized art circle among blacks at the Capital.[45]

Unlike Freeman, P.E. Laurence was an obscure government clerk whose reveries, it appears, led him to seek release in painting fruit pieces; Turneresque Venetian scenes, and genre. It matters little that his images may have been taken from reproductions, as suggested by *Old Fisherman "L.C. Eagle '91"* (Fig. 106), which is from a cigar box design. Laurence was nonetheless able to project a sense of himself in his variously styled works. His close representation of the subtle tonal gradations in the *Eagle* and his careful attention to details clearly suggest the artist reveled in re-creating the vision of the old fisherman, untrammeled by everyday cares.[46]

Figure Drawing, Seated Female (Fig. 107) is another of those exquisitely pensive females, whose pedigree goes back to Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelites. It is not surprising to learn that the drawing and several other similar studies were done in Julian's Paris atelier. The nicely controlled play of mass and space, of light and dark, of broad pattern and careful, but limited detail point to that. Nor is it surprising that the figure was done by a woman. Like Bush-Brown, Hale, and Holmes, Annie E. A. Walker seems to have gravitated toward the withdrawn type—objectifications, perhaps, of their own interior quiet amidst a tumultuous world. Walker was one of the few black Washington artists to have had the benefit of foreign study and travel. Her associations here and whether she may have taught or influenced other artists are undetermined however.

Judging by the many works of his that are extant, Thomas W. Hunster was a prolific painter with a broad vision and range of styles. His works move easily from etherealized Symbolist figures to simple fruit pieces to refreshingly nostalgic winter woodland scenes in the manner of George Henry Durrie. The element of suggestiveness in his work is seen in the exotic *Floral Still-Life* (Fig. 108), whose eerie light and aggressive plant forms belie the apparent silence of the interior.

Hunster taught art at the renowned M Street School and, significantly, was also director of drawing for the District's public schools. Most interesting is the fact that he made the designs for the "Exposition Des Nègres d'Amerique" for the International Exposition, the Paris World's Fair of 1900. Housed in a corner of the Social Economy Building, the small exhibit consisted of nine scenes, modeled in clay, depicting the progress of blacks from 1865 to 1900. Moving from the life of deprivation attendant on emancipation, the scenes concluded in a model of the M Street School, symbol of the ideal in black education.

Assistant Commissioner Woodward's comment on the exhibition unconsciously revealed a lightly veiled hypocrisy: "[It] will show other nations that we know how to solve the Negro

Fig. 105. Daniel Freeman (1868–after 1919), *Della Bundy*, 1892, pastel, 23½ × 19½ in. Collection of Jerome C. Gray.

Fig. 106. P. E. Laurence (before 1890–after 1937), *Old Fisherman "L. C. Eagle '91"*, 1905, oil on canvas, 30 × 25 in. Dr. and Mrs. Earl C. Mills, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 107. Annie E. A. Walker (1855–1929), *Figure Drawing, Seated Female*, 1896, charcoal, 31½ × 21½ in., sight. The Gallery of Art, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 108. Thomas W. Hunster (1851–1929), *Floral Still-Life*, c. 1900, oil on canvas, 30½ × 25½ in. Burton Wormley Lewis.

Fig. 109. Waterfront, 1915, by Addison N. Scurlock (1883–1964), photograph, 11 × 14 in. Scurlock Studio, Robert S. Scurlock, Washington, D.C.

problem upon intelligent, civilized lines. Some foreigners think we have nothing for the Negro but the bludgeon and the revolver." Less diffident was the response of Dr. Anna Cooper, that remarkable black educator and principal of the M Street School, who reflected on the theme of education in the terminal scene as, "The climax of the upward struggles of [her] people . . . show[ing] the chasm bridged in the second generation along the shadowy path . . . wither [*sic*] none but Omniscience could have foreseen."[47] It is notable that among the art commissioners for the Paris Exposition were the painter Hobart Nichols and the patron Samuel H. Kauffmann, two of the staunchest supporters of art at the Capital.

Of the several black photographers practicing in Washington, mention has already been made of Daniel Freeman, who taught photography at Frelinghuysen University, an experimental black institution of higher learning. The photographer with the most refined artistic sensibility however, was Addison N. Scurlock. A North Carolinean who came to Washington in 1900, Scurlock brought to his art, as can be seen in the *Waterfront* (Fig. 109), a rare sense of clarity, compositional force, and dramatic lighting. His panoramic representations of the life of the "Secret City" silently and gracefully reveal a rich, elegiac life among blacks unknown to the

Fig. 110. Clifford Kennedy Berryman (1869–1949), *A Sculptor of Gargoyles*, c. 1906, pen and ink, 17¾ × 16¾ in. Cosmos Club, Washington, D.C.

white community, even to the probing lens of Frances Benjamin Johnston. Scurlock's portraits—those of William Dubois, Lawrence Dunbar, and Booker T. Washington—are especially sensitive and explain why leading blacks everywhere patronized him.[48]

It is evident that the pattern of black art differed little from the larger context, with the

Fig. 111. Felix Mahoney (1867–1939), left, *V. Mills Thompson*; center, *Felix Mahoney*; right, *Spencer Baird Nichols*, c. 1898, charcoal, 18 × 11 in. (each). Cosmos Club, Washington, D.C.

exception that economic and social strictures often dictated a preference for less expensive materials, and generally excluded black artists from the "higher" realms of history and mural painting. Yet there seems to have been a disproportionate paucity of painters in the black community—then the largest in the nation—otherwise fairly well endowed with cultural organizations and with artists in various fields: photographers; architects, such as John Lankford and Albert Cassell; sculptors such as May Howard Jackson and Isaac Hathaway; and musicians and writers. Serious research on the subject of Washington's black artists of the nineteenth century would address these questions and others as well. Why, for example, did the black Renaissance of the 1920s not occur in Washington? To what extent did local artists contribute to that great awakening?

While the art of illustration is outside the purview of this study, it should not go unnoticed inasmuch as there long existed at the Capital a thriving colony of illustrators, many of whom were "fine" artists as well, and deeply involved in the art community. The illustrator of magazines and romances, George Fort Gibbs, has already been discussed. Another was Will Chandlee, who, in 1912, established the Washington School of Art. Most popular were the cartoonists Clifford Kennedy Berryman, Felix Mahoney, and Charles Dunn—who span the history of that discipline to the near present.

The recipient of a Pulitzer Prize, Berryman was the dean of Washington cartoonists, famous for transmuting the rough and tumble President Roosevelt into a lovable "Teddy Bear," as in *A Sculptor of Gargoyles* (Fig. 110). He worked for both the *Washington Post* (1891–1907) and the *Washington Star* (1907–1949), and was followed in the latter by his son James. Mahoney studied at the Corcoran School and worked for the *Star*, the Washington *Times*, and the Baltimore *American*. An irrepressible bon vivant and superb watercolorist, he was a keen student of human nature, often immortalizing his artist friends in witty caricatures (Fig. 111). In 1916, Mahoney founded the highly successful National School of Fine & Applied Arts. His protégé, Charles Dunn, worked under him in the early 1900s at the *Times* as a sports cartoonist and advertising artist. Dunn's easel art was incredibly varied in mood and style, ranging from the mystical to the mirthful, the latter most evident in his humorous but topical *Sur-*

Fig. 112. Charles Dunn (1894–1978), *Surrender in Washington*, 1933, oil on wood panel, 43 × 49½ in. Collection of the Charles Dunn Family.

render in Washington (Fig. 112) depicting Hoover turning over the keys of the White House to Roosevelt.

Not unlike comparable periods in other ages the *fin-de-siècle* experienced a certain malaise which nourished the Symbolist movement, whose adherents, repulsed by the aggressive materialism of the age, sought to restore to art and life the rich texture of spiritualism and imagination of earlier eras.[49] Of the several artists at the Capital working in the Symbolist mode, the most prominent was Alice Pike Barney (Fig. 75).

A wealthy socialite and bohemian, Barney hoped to transform the Capital into a center for the cultural pursuits. For two decades she entertained lavishly, making of her studio-house on Sheridan Circle, as the *Washington Magazine* reported, a "Meeting place for wit and wisdom, genius and talent. . . ." Whistler was entertained there, Caruso, G.K. Chesterton, Sarah Bernhardt, and many other notables. But Barney was not merely given to socializing. In addition to painting, she wrote and produced tableaux and plays; was instrumental in establishing the Sylvan Theatre on the Monument

grounds (1917); and actively supported art and social organizations such as Barney Neighborhood House, an art center for children.[50]

That Barney should have found Washington congenial was due to her own broad interests and creative energies. Insofar as her art was concerned, she discovered early that the Capital had no taste for innovation especially of the kind manifest in her fully Symbolist works. Writing of an exhibition of her pastels at Knoedler's of New York in 1903, James H. Moser, the *Post* critic noted, "Mrs. Barney's pastels, it will be remembered, created a furore when shown here at the [Corcoran] hemi-cycle a year ago."[51]

Held in late November 1901, soon after Barney's return from Europe and not long since her study with Whistler at the Carmen Academy in Paris, the Corcoran show excited a remarkable range of emotions. Moser, for example, in an article for the *Post*, recognized the desirability of having the creative Barney at Washington, "She will at once become a force . . . an influence this locality needs." Concerning a small oil portrait in the show, of a young lady holding poppies, he wrote, "It is a picture of extraordinary beauty . . . full of that esthetic-ism which Rossetti painted. . . ." When confronted by an allegorical painting of a demonic "Babylonian woman," however, even the progressive Moser gave pause: "There is a symbolism here that mystifies me. . . . Stories, lessons, problems, and sermons may be the province of art . . . but I never liked intensely intellectual or mystical art."[52]

Other local critics were less tolerant, although they praised Barney's technical skill and her striking portraits. Particularly upsetting were the disembodied, Mephistophelean heads of Whistler and Shaw, of which one writer complained that "even the neckties are ruthlessly eliminated." Most disturbing, again, were the "black" Symbolist works that dwelt on the darker sides of human experience, such as Barney's *Medusa* (*Laura Dreyfus Barney*) (Fig. 113), a reflection on the madness of modern society. In an otherwise congratulatory review for the *Star*, in which she ranked Barney's work with "the best of the modern school," Leila Mechlin wrote of the *Medusa*, "It is a weird creation, which is too horrible and too well done to be other than an outrage to the highest principles or aims of true art, as well as unworthy of the genius of its skillful painter." Barney's reaction to such criticism was summed up in a comment she made during an interview given a reporter for the Washington *Times* in 1902, several months after the exhibition: "What is Capital Life, after all? Small talk and lots to eat, an infinite series of teas and dinners. Art? There is none!"[53]

Barney was actually much admired as an artist by the local community, and especially for her facility with pastels, which constitute the bulk of her oeuvre. The use of pastels, revived everywhere in the late nineteenth century, found exceptional favor at the Capital, particularly among the circle of women about Barney. Moser noted this in his review of Barney's exhibition: "Mrs. Barney, Miss Thompson, Mrs. Childs, Miss Meuden [*sic*], Miss Sands, Miss Burdette, and some others have made this beautiful art of Raphael Mengs and Angelica Kauffmann familiar to lovers of art. Much if not most . . . of the strongest work made by our home painters is pastel." Moser went on to conclude: "It would not be surprising, strong as are some of our oil and water-color painters, if 'the Washington School' should make its first impression on the country as a school of painters in pastel."[54]

Enough pastels of the period exist to excite interest in Moser's claims: Barney's works, of course; George Fort Gibbs' *Woman Playing Croquet* (Fig. 100); the strangely attractive "Alma" by Anna Sands; the beautifully colored and wrought *Sea Nymph* by Arthur Prince Spear. Anna Sands was one of the women pastellists listed by Moser, but almost nothing is known of her despite the fact she was active here for at least thirty years. The exotic flavor of her subject (Fig. 114)—"alma" means "soul" in Spanish—suggests, however, that she was influenced by Barney. So too was Barney's protégé, Juliet Thompson (also on Moser's list) a follower of Bahaism, one of the many arcane "religions" that were especially attractive to Symbolists and other artists of the age.

Like Barney's *Medusa*, Spear's *Sea Nymph* (Fig. 115) is characteristically Symbolist—as are all his works completed after 1915—but closer to the "white" side of the repertoire, that is, more sanguine than savage in its interpretation of human experience. Indeed, Spear's allegorical themes are filled with exquisite, languishing female nudes who populate every sphere in the

Fig. 113. Alice Pike Barney (1857–1931), *Medusa (Laura Dreyfus Barney)*, 1892, pastel on canvas, 36½ × 28⅝ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of Laura Dreyfus Barney and Natalie Clifford Barney in memory of their mother, Alice Pike Barney, 1951.

Fig. 114. Anna Sands (1860–after 1927), *Alma,* c. 1895, pastel, 28 × 22 in. Collection of Virgil E. McMahan and Robert H. Laible.

Fig. 115. Arthur Prince Spear (1879–1959), *Sea Nymph*, c. 1915, pastel, 23¾ × 20 in. Private Collection.

universe; from Neptune's watery deep, where anthropomorphized seaweeds and barnacles play; to terrestrial woods filled with Boecklinian frolicking satyrs, stags, and wood nymphs; to high Mount Parnassus; to far celestial reaches resplendent with personified moonbeams and nebulae. The son of General Ellis Spear, Ulysses S. Grant's patent commissioner, Spear was a native Washingtonian who received his initial training at the local Art Students League, but whose taste was developed abroad and in New York and Boston. Spear nonetheless maintained close ties with the Capital, as a member of various clubs, and through his friendship with two other local artists, Everett Warner and Charles Bittinger.[55]

Perhaps the most diversified and best known of Washington artists working in the Symbolist mode was William Baxter Closson. A New Englander by birth, Closson developed close ties with the Capital through his marriage to Grace Gallaudet Kendall, daughter of the president of Gallaudet College, Dr. Edward Miner Gallaudet. Closson was already internationally known as the inventor of the "Closson Method," a system of white-line wood engraving so refined in the tonal range it permitted—as can be seen in the portrait *Oliver Wendell Holmes* (Fig. 116)—that it stayed, for a time, the ultimate triumph of the photographic half tone process. One of the few people privy to Closson's new technique was the art historian and critic Charles Eliot Norton, who wrote to the artist, "So surprising are its results in freedom and ease of touch and line that I fancy it may be difficult at first to persuade those who see your work that it is work of pure engraving, in which the etcher's needle and acid have had no part."[56]

When technology finally made the wood engraver's art superfluous in the 1890s, Closson turned to painting, bringing to his work a deeply poetic nature and strong recollections of the many pictures he had copied for *Harper's* and other publications. In his evanescent *In the Wings* (Fig. 117), for example, a Debussyan symphony of chromatic yellows, greens, and blues, Closson joined the brilliance of Adolphe Monticelli with the mysteries of George Fuller and the nostalgia of Antoine Watteau's *fêtes gallantes*. Infatuated especially with the melancholy poetry of Watteau's ritualized festivities, Closson paraphrased the French master in a series of *fêtes* that was given a place of honor at the exhibition of the Society of Washington Artists held at the Corcoran Gallery in 1908. The eight small paintings were described in the *Star* as "Fanciful conceptions set forth with a light touch and evident artistic feeling. Literally the stuff that dreams are made of, they charm and delight. . . . Most were inspired by the outdoor fete held two summers ago at Beverly Farms, under the management of Joseph Lindon Smith."[57] Despite its being an interior scene, even the glittering *Reception at the White House* (Fig. 118) showing President Roosevelt receiving guests in the East Room exudes the perfume of Elysian fields.

Although they differ measurably, Closson's spectral female figures gliding through the woods and Thomas Dewing's delicate creatures in the fields are sisters nonetheless, and both are distant cousins of the strangely evocative female "souls" which wander aimlessly throughout the Symbolist panoply. More typically Symbolist and decidedly academic in treatment is Closson's large painting *The Angel* (Fig. 119), whose introspective figure couched within huge, enveloping wings, reflects influences as diverse as those of Elihu Vedder, George Frederic Watts, and Sir Edward Burne-Jones, all artists whose works Closson had engraved. The descriptive self-consciousness of the *Angel* may also reflect the influence of Augustus Tack, with whom Closson exhibited in Boston in 1910. Tack also was attracted to the Capital through his friendship with Duncan Phillips, and probably because of Closson.

Closely related to Symbolism was "Orientalism," the taste for scenes of exotic, faraway people and places. Both movements were rooted in the escapist tendencies of Romanticism, but where the Symbolists rejected materialism, the Orientalists engaged it fully. One of the great exponents of the movement was the French academician, Jean-Lèon Gérôme, whose intensely realistic paintings of Middle Eastern and North African splendor and savagery brought incredibly high prices in the 1870s, especially in America.

Although the movement was never very strong in America, even the Capital was not without its Orientalists. Of the two who are known, F. Carl Smith generally belonged to the fold of Gérôme, and of Bouguereau, with whom he had studied in Paris. In his *Arab Street Scene* (Fig. 120), Smith captured the exotic

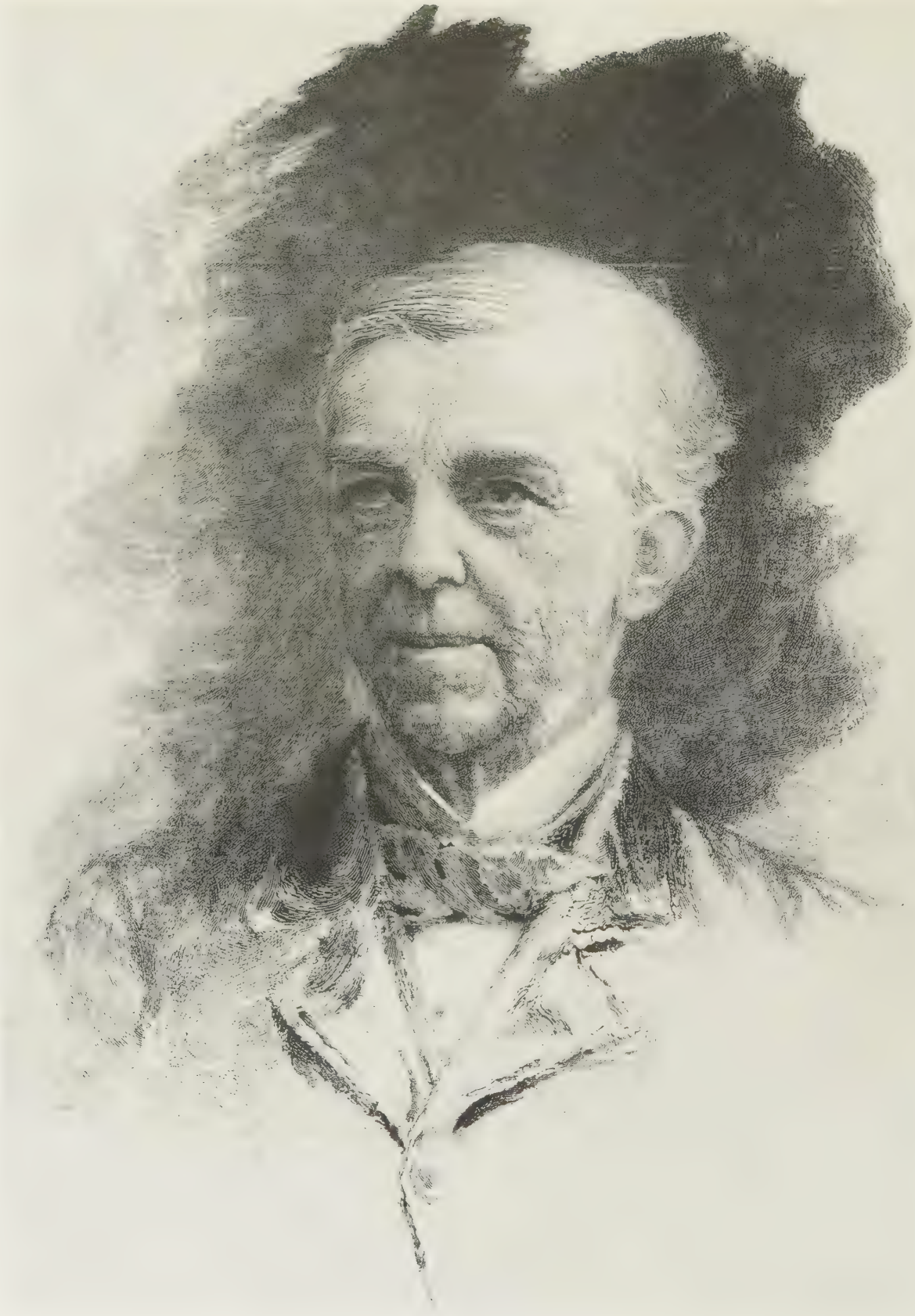


Fig. 116. William Baxter Palmer Closson (1848–1926), *Oliver Wendell Holmes*, c. 1885, wood engraving, $6\frac{13}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in., image. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Transfer from Division of Graphic Arts, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, 1971.

Fig. 117. William Baxter Palmer Closson (1848–1926), *In the Wings*, c. 1900, oil on panel, 24 × 24 in. Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C.

ambiance of Gérôme, but could not sustain the master's powerful, photographic realism. Smith seems to have been driven by necessity to concentrate on portraiture. *Arab Street Scene* is the only exotic piece by him located thus far, but its quality suggests it was not his first.

The works of Paul B. Pascal are relatively plentiful, yet the artist himself remains obscure. A French émigré, Pascal seems to have been obsessed with visions of the Nile, which he depicted in hot, shimmering sunsets and cool, crystalline nights. In his *Moonlight on the Nile* (Fig. 121) the timelessness of ancient Egypt becomes palpable, its beauty real. Pascal's daughter, Jeanne, continued in his footsteps, creating works barely discernible from his.

Fig. 118. William Baxter Palmer Closson (1848–1926), *Reception at the White House*, 1908, oil on canvas, 15 × 18 in. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Theodore Roosevelt Home, Sagamore Hill National Historic Site, Oyster Bay, New York.

Fig. 119. William Baxter Palmer Closson (1848–1926), *The Angel*, 1912, oil on canvas, 57⅛ × 37⅜ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Lent by the artist, 1915.

Fig. 120. F. Carl Smith (1868–1950), *Arab Street Scene*, c. 1895, oil on canvas, 12 × 18 in. Collection of Virgil E. McMahan and Robert H. Laible.

The sense of strangeness that permeates so much of late nineteenth-century art often seems, paradoxically, most intense at the juncture of mundane subject matter and objective realism. Thomas Eakins's *Miss Van Buren*, John Singer Sargent's *Daughters of Edward Darley Boit*, and Eastman Johnson's *Hatch Family*, as examples, reek with a certain fetid air of materialism and spiritual alienation, while all manner of silent presences fill the interior scenes of Frank Benson and Childe Hassam, the flower paintings of John LaFarge and Abbott Thayer, and even William Harnett's cluttered still lifes. Nietzsche and the French Intimists were among those who grasped this underlying enigmatic quality in things and their effect on the spirit, and Giorgio de Chirico later exploited these qualities fully in his "revelations." Although they are usually seen only as celebrations of High-Victorian materialism, which indeed they are, even the pictures of empty interiors so popular at the time often partake of the obliquities of the age. And few more so than those by the Washington artist, Charles Bittinger.

Bittinger's *Bibliotèque du Dauphin, Versailles* (Fig. 122), for example, is a photographically realistic representation of one of several interiors he painted at Versailles, and yet it is somehow more. Beneath the semblance of actuality there is a indefinable presence, perhaps intimated by the mirror reflection, often used by past masters of the suggestive; by the cold white marble bust slightly turned toward the lady in the painting; or merely by the emptiness of the room. Empty spaces automatically seem to energize the subconscious; certainly those by Pieter Saenredam and Charles Sheeler do, but each in a vividly different way. To attribute these differences to the ages in which the paintings were done is, of course, tautologi-

Fig. 121. Paul B. Pascal (1832–1905), *Moonlight on the Nile*, 1904, gouache, 17 × 27 in. Montrose Galleries, Inc., Bethesda, Maryland.

cal, but perhaps unavoidable. In several other interior scenes by the artist, such as *Library, University Club, New York City* and *Boston Athenaeum: The Fifth Floor*, the sense of intimation is equally strong. Much more dispassionate is *Blue Room, The White House* (Fig. 123) in which Bittinger, always interested in optics and the science of color, seems to have been determined to capture with exactness the graceful curving space of the room and especially the delicate hue of the blue wall. Done on the spot, during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, the *Blue Room* is a rare document on the appearance of the room, which was later modified.

The taste for the color blue—Delft, Prussian, cerulean, ultramarine—was remarkably widespread at the time, in fact, and is reflected in the work of many major artists, but especially those who followed Whistler, from whom the vogue derived. Delft blue, in particular, was more than just a color; it was a symbol of unspoken kinship among those cosmopolitans privy to the intricacies of oriental art and that of Vermeer of Delft. How inextricably bound to works of elegance were Orientalism and blue can be seen in Bittinger's *Actress with Isabel* (Fig. 124), a vision of porcelain fragility in which the figure dominates for a change. The exotic subject, the oriental vase and wallpaper with peacock, the color, and the tilted perspective are clearly Whistlerian, as is the picture's handsome handcrafted frame, but the crystalline beauty of the ensemble is Bittinger's alone.

Subsequent to the completion of *Actress with*

Fig. 122. Charles Bittinger (1879–1970), *Bibliothèque du Dauphin, Versailles*, 1906, oil on canvas, 40⅛ × 25⅞ in. The St. Louis Art Museum; Museum Purchase.

Fig. 123. Charles Bittinger (1879–1970), *Blue Room, The White House*, 1903, oil on canvas, 21½ × 25½ in. White House Collection.

Fig. 124. Charles Bittinger (1879–1970), *Actress with Isabel*, c. 1914, oil on canvas, 31½ × 24½ in., sight. Private Collection.

Isabel, which represents an actress seated with the artist's eldest child, Bittinger continued to paint interiors—Arlington House, the stairwell at the Library of Congress—as well as a number of arresting costume pieces in which young women, gorgeously attired in eighteenth-century dress, engage in various activities. These latter are historicizing in character, yet rich in mood and quality. In addition, Bittinger pursued his interests in the theory and physical properties of color, experimenting with camouflage for the U.S. Navy during the two world wars, and in the murals on the life of Benjamin Franklin that he painted in the 1930s for the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia. The murals are invisible to the naked eye and require ultraviolet light to be seen. That the artist possessed a touch of the spirit of Dada is suggested by the painting he did of Charles Lindbergh's flight which, under ultraviolet light reveals the ubiquitous image of the Mona Lisa.[58]

Other local artists painted interiors, but most were of picturesque European settings done while they studied in Paris, Holland, in Germany, or Italy. S. Jerome Uhl's *Interior of a Levardin Church, Florence, Italy* (Fig. 125) is typical, although it is more pleasing than many in its breadth of composition, freedom of brushwork, and restraint of mood. Unfortunately, these qualities are not always present in Uhl's portraits, for which he is better known.

With the dramatic growth of urban centers after the Civil War came a renewed interest in the cityscape, which had largely become the province of graphic artists from the 1830s on. The wealth and teeming, colorful life of the cities, however, and the call by art critics such as Charles Baudelaire for contemporaneity in art spawned a host of painters of the urban scene. Initially, these artists concentrated on the genteel aspects of life, but with the deluge of immigrants in the 1880s and 1890s, and the concomitant growth of liberal political and economic philosophies, they increasingly turned to scenes of the "seamier" side of life. The latter scenes culminated, as is well known, in the controversial works of New York's "Ashcan School," considered by some the visual counterpart of muckraker literature. Of course, between the two extremes of subject matter lay a multitude of possibilities for expression.

Given the traditionally conservative bent of the Capital, its freedom from the massive influx of non-English-speaking immigrants, and its non-commercial character, those artists who dwelt on the urban scene naturally favored the more genteel aspects of life. The very nature of Washington did little to encourage urban scene painting. The same elements that precluded the growth of an artist's quarter also discouraged city themes as subjects: the unmanageably generous, insistently horizontal spaces and streets, and the consequent absence of tight, picturesque quarters and cafes wherein art seems to thrive; the lack of colorful, even if impoverished, ethnic enclaves; the largely residential character of the city, which discouraged a thriving street life (except around Center Market); and the lingering rural and Southern aspects of the city, which favored quiet to bustle, and which tacitly prohibited artists from probing the proverty-ridden but picturesque slums of the black quarters. Thus, although some attractive cityscapes were produced in the Capital, they lack the pulsating excitement of the works of Robert Henri and John Sloan done in New York and elsewhere.

Several examples may serve to define the nature of Washington scenes: Susan Fuller's *7th Street Excavation During the Invasion of the Board of Public Works* (1873); Eleazer Hutchinson Miller's *Canal Boat, C & O Canal, Georgetown* (1902); and Ruel Pardee Tolman's *Scene on E Street, with Post Office Clock Tower in Background* (1912). All are charming, but nonetheless retardataire in quality, and their appeal is largely nostalgic and local. Fuller's witty drawing (Fig. 71) depicts the tumultuous days of "Boss" Shepherd's renovation of the city, and records Strasberger's shoe store on 7th Street, and the Calvary Baptist Church at 8th and H streets (before it lost its spire in the tornado of 1919). Miller's etching (Fig. 126) is of one of the few picturesque parts of the District, the then inoperative C & O Canal, and is part of an attractive series he did on Capital life in the 1880s and 1890s which underscore its placid, rural character. Tolman, like other artists, was attracted by the old Post Office (completed in 1897) (Fig. 127) doubtless because of its robust Romanesque design, and because it was one of the city's most conspicuous features. Its imposing clock tower, it is sometimes forgotten, was the only structure on the Avenue that could compete visually with

Fig. 125. S. Jerome Uhl (1842–1916), *Interior of a Levardin Church, Florence, Italy*, c. 1885, oil on canvas, 32⅛ × 39¾ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Lent by Sara Tolman Kemper.

Fig. 126. Eleazer Hutchinson Miller (1831–1921), *Canal Boat, C & O Canal, Georgetown*, 1902, etching, 7 × 9½ in. Kiplinger Washington Collection, Washington, D.C.

the Capitol.

In contrast to these local scenes, Mathilde Mueden Leisenring's *Jardin des Tuileries* (Fig. 128) is more progressive. The rapid, skillful brushwork, the sense of spontaneity and asymmetrical balance were all "modern" features, which point to the artist's Parisian training and surely to her close study of the works of Whistler and Sargent. Although she was well known for her portraits, Leisenring painted landscapes, floral pieces, and picturesque town and cityscapes, all with a poetic sensitivity that deserves to be remembered.[59]

Fuller, Miller, Tolman, and Leisenring were all important fixtures in the local art community. Fuller was the first and for many years the only art teacher in the city's public schools, while Leisenring taught at the Corcoran School of Art for almost forty years. In contrast to Miller, one of the oldest and most revered of local artists—he was a founder of the Washington Art Club and the Society of Washington Artists—Tolman was a latecomer; director of the National Collection of Fine Arts (formerly called the National Gallery of Art and now the National Museum of American Art).

Surely the most numerous and most attractive views of the Capital are the watercolors of Walter Paris. A "large man, broadshouldered, well-built," as Leila Mechlin described him, Paris was an Englishman who roamed a good deal about India and America. In New York, for example, the famous Tile Club was organized in his studio; in Colorado he speculated in land, and lost; and in San Francisco he was a member of the noted Bohemian Club. Paris was undoubtedly drawn to Washington as a result of his friendship with Ferdinand V. Hayden and William H. Holmes, whom he had met during Hayden's famous survey of Colorado in

Fig. 127. Ruel Pardee Tolman (1878–1954), *Scene on E Street, with Post Office Clock Tower in Background*, 1913, etching, 9⅞ × 7¼ in. In the collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Gift of Edgar B. Douglass, 1975.

Fig. 128. Mathilde Mueden Leisenring (c. 1870–1949), *Jardin des Tuileries*, c. 1899, gouache, 8⁵⁄₁₆ × 11½ in. In the collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Gift of Luther Morris Leisenring.

1874, which Paris joined briefly. Paris and Holmes communicated regularly, and Paris visited the Capital frequently until he settled here in 1883, eventually building a large home which he never occupied. A man of many talents Paris was a professional architect in service to the Queen, a sensitive violinist, and, despite his pompous airs, a painter of great delicacy.[60]

That delicacy is evident in *A Stroll by the Capitol* (Cover) and *The Great Blizzard of 1899* (Fig. 129), both factual representations, yet each effective in conveying the poetry of sunlight and snow, and their transformation of mass into music. In offering to sell the *Great Blizzard* to the Corcoran Gallery of Art for five hundred dollars, Paris wrote the art committee in April 1899:

I beg to submit my Picture of the great Blizzard of Feby 13th . . . which illustrates the Event as seen from . . . my Studio . . . and shows the State, War & Navy Department Building, and a portion of the Corcoran Art Building. It has the advantage of having been done on the Spot, and is therefore no ideal treatment of the subject—but is true in every respect.[61]

The Gallery eventually acquired the painting on bequest from the artist.

Several other of Paris's city scenes—a view up the Avenue toward the Capitol and July 4th fireworks display at the Washington Monument—are as sensitive and appealing as *Stroll by the Capitol* and the *Great Blizzard*, and are painted with the same skill and insistence on detail. Yet the artist's best works are not his

Fig. 129. Walter Paris (1842–1906), *The Great Blizzard of 1899*, 1899, watercolor, gouache, and charcoal, 17⅞ × 29¼ in. In the collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Bequest of the artist through National Savings and Trust Co.

urban scenes. His landscapes, done out West, in the Catskills, and about the environs of Washington, are considerably more lyrical, looser in technique, and more coloristic. Their pleasing combination of fact and sentiment suggests Paris shared experiences with his friend Holmes, the best of the city's remarkable array of watercolorists.

Among the many notable achievements of the Gilded Age was landscape painting. The rugged clarity and moral vigor of the works of the Hudson River school gave way to a mature landscape of somber beauty and suggestion, the culmination of more than a half-century of artistic dialogue with the land. As John Burroughs, one of the period's foremost essayists on nature lore, wrote, "Man can have but one interest in nature, namely to see himself reflected or interpreted there." The "seer of Slabsides" was not indulging in solipsism, but rather was voicing the age's new understanding of man's essential role *in* nature. Although omnipotent, nature, Burroughs realized, was fragile, and whatever bounty it afforded (as George P. Marsh had argued in 1864 in his seminal book *Man and Nature*) came as a result of man's relation to it.[62]

Burroughs saw this symbiotic relationship clearly while artists felt it intuitively, giving expression to it in their landscapes of mood and mystery, filled with the aroma of burning faggots and the sadness of setting suns. The dying-ember quality that pervades so much of late nineteenth-century landscape derives, in fact, not only from fear of the encroaching city, but also from the sort of knowledge that Burroughs possessed. In the last quarter century Western man had finally come to understand nature and, in a sense, with understanding came death. Indeed, by the turn of the century Henry Adams' Dynamo had displaced not only the Virgin, but nature, in its old form as an external living force—that force which had shaped the American character, and its art as well. Henceforth science and technology would reign, and (as some contemporaries rightly perceived) their artistic complement, Impressionism.

No less than elsewhere during the late nineteenth-century, Washington achieved its greatest triumph in landscape art. From 1880 to 1915, a close-knit band of artists, the "Washington Landscape School," recorded the fast-fading arcadian beauties at the Capital, especially about Rock Creek and the Potomac. Inspired by the French Barbizon painters and their Dutch and American adherents, many of whom were represented in the Thomas E. Waggaman collection begun by Brooke in 1882, these artists formed one of the first coherent groups of Barbizon followers in the country outside of Boston. Unlike the better-known Barbizon colony established later at Old Lyme, however, the Washington group was generally less aesthetic in its approach, prone to a more descriptive view of nature. These characteristics probably were encouraged by the strongly scientific orientation of some members of the group and its largely conservative cast. This conservative cast also allowed the Barbizon style to continue here well into the twentieth century.[63]

Among the founders and leaders of the Washington Landscape School were Richard Norris Brooke, William Henry Holmes, Edmund Clarence Messer, James Henry Moser, and Max Weyl. Brooke's and Messer's role in popularizing and enriching the local landscape tradition was crucial. Brooke was especially important as he undoubtedly was the guiding spirit of the group, vastly knowledgeable about Barbizon and modern Dutch art. But the most popular member of the group was Max Weyl (Fig. 130), the "American Daubigny" as his admirers called him.

The romance of Weyl's career, popularized in the Washington press, fired the imagination of his fellow townsmen and accounts perhaps to some extent for his special place in Washington's heart. Born in 1837 of Jewish parentage in the town of Muhlen-am-Neckar, Germany, Weyl was apprenticed at a tender age to a watchmaker. At 16 he came to the United States and promptly set out to make his living as an itinerant repairer of watches. By 1861, Weyl had found his way to Washington and had opened a small jewelry shop.

In the early 1860s Weyl began to dabble in painting, perhaps receiving help from Charles Lanman, one of whose works he copied. In 1870 he found the courage to hang some of his paintings in the window of his jewelry shop. During that year Samuel H. Kauffmann, publisher of the Washington *Evening Star* and a member of the board of trustees of the newly chartered Corcoran Gallery of Art, stopped in Weyl's shop to have his watch repaired. He was delighted with the paintings and purchased a small landscape entitled *A Bit of Rock Creek*. This was Max Weyl's first sale.

Each year until 1876 Weyl was listed in the Washington City Directory as a jeweler. In 1877 he added "and artist" to his identification, and in 1878 he listed himself only as "artist." With encouragement from Kauffmann, Crosby Noyes, and their friends, Max Weyl held his first exhibition of landscapes in 1879. This was successful enough to enable him to travel abroad for a year. He did not undertake any formal course of study, but during 1880 visited art studios and art galleries in Paris, Munich, Vienna, and Venice. No doubt he looked long and hard at the Barbizon painters, especially Charles-François Daubigny.[64]

Weyl's works completed before his European tour bear the imprint of the Hudson River school such as the attractive *View of the Capitol from the Soldiers' Home* (Fig. 131). Perhaps the finest painting of Weyl's middle period is the large *Potomac River* (Pl. VI), a richly textured piece whose massed, subdued tonalities and loaded brushwork clearly derive from Daubigny as seen in the latter's *On the Oise*. Like the Frenchman, Weyl excelled in depicting wide expanses wherein clear, soft light and dense atmosphere are made palpable. Like the Barbizon master also, Weyl resorted to photographing his scenes in order to sustain his images, which from the 1880s on he invariably began *en plein air*.

During the 1880s and 1890s, Weyl developed a close working relationship with Brooke, sharing studios with him on Vernon Row and at the "Barbizon Studios" near the White House, and his circle of friends and admirers expanded rapidly. Frances Hodgson Burnett, author of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (written in Washington), and the prominent local collector Charles Glover patronized him, as did the financiers Philip Henry and George W. Vanderbilt, both of whom entertained him at their palatial mansions. Weyl's most generous patron, other than Kauffmann, was that remarkable collector of art, the

Fig. 130. Max Weyl, 1907, by Frances Benjamin Johnston.
Library of Congress.

Fig. 131. Max Weyl (1837–1914), *View of the Capitol from the Soldier's Home*, 1876, oil on canvas, 15⅛ × 45¼ in. Dexter M. Bullard, Jr.

Fig. 132. Max Weyl (1837–1914), *Rock Creek Park*, 1885, oil on canvas, 30 × 24½ in. Don Caffery Glassie, Washington, D.C.

Brazilian ambassador, Señor Salvador de Mendonca, who owned fourteen of the artist's works and who introduced him to the Adirondacks.[65]

Mrs. Grover Cleveland and the first Mrs. Woodrow Wilson each purchased Weyl paintings to hang in the White House. Mrs. Cleveland's choice was given the name *A Study in Grey* by the famous comic actor Joseph Jefferson who was a friend of Weyl's and an intimate of the White House. (Jefferson was an artist as well as an actor and in 1900 an exhibition of 55 of his landscapes was held at the V. G. Fischer Gallery, for which Moser wrote a laudatory catalogue.)

Weyl's last and most poetic period began in the 1890s when he came under the spell of George Inness. His scenes of the interior wooded spaces in the Piney Branch of Rock Creek Park and on the Potomac marshes are especially imbued with that magical internal light of the master. Because of their popularity and the large number he painted, Weyl's Rock Creek pictures occasionally became formulaic, but at their best, as seen in *Rock Creek Park* (Fig. 132), they are sensitive and moving. Although his late woodland scenes of clumps of oaks now and again take on an intensely expressive air, and despite a rare attempt at Impressionism, Weyl attained his maturity with his works in the Barbizon mood, for which he is best remembered.

In 1907, on Weyl's seventieth birthday, the Corcoran Gallery of Art held a retrospective of his work. In recognition of his achievements and of the community's regard for him, a group of local citizens purchased and donated to the National Gallery of Art his painting *An Indian Summer Day*, praising him thus:

> *From the standpoint of art you have contributed work of genius that will stand for all time; while your bearing as a man, citizen and friend has been of that modest and yet far-reaching character that wins the love and retains the esteem of those with whom you have come in contact.*

All of Washington turned out for the exhibition. President Theodore Roosevelt wrote a note of apology for not being able to attend, but received a guided tour of the exhibition by James H. Moser a day or two later.

Weyl's work was well received in exhibitions at the National Academy of Design, the Pennsylvania Academy of The Fine Arts, and elsewhere, but he remained essentially a Washington folk figure. The local papers recorded faithfully his vacations, his guests, and his birthdays, as well as his exhibitions. Because the glorification of the valley of Rock Creek in his paintings was partially responsible for its establishment as a public park, an art editor of the *Star* even suggested naming the park for him. At a reception given by the sculptress Vinnie Ream Hoxie, she entertained her guests by modeling a bas relief of Weyl.

Weyl had received as much as he had given to the Capital. As the *Star* reporter noted in reviewing the retrospective, on his trip abroad Weyl had found Europe "charming and enjoyable," but in comparison to Washington he found, "the scenery no more paintable, nature no more engaging."[66]

Although almost entirely forgotten, Henry Livingston Hillyer was a close associate of Weyl's for some years. A fellow officer and founder of the Washington Art Club, he was among the early advocates of preserving Rock Creek as a public park, a dream of many of the local artists which was finally realized in 1889. His frequent letters on the subject to the *Star* were full of wit and sarcasm. "Each visit," he wrote in May 1880, of his many trips to Rock Creek, "has increased my love for its beauties, and my convictions that it was designed by the Creator for the rest and refreshment of this nation's official slaves." Hillyer complemented his verbal thrusts with many charming paintings of the area. *Rock Creek, Autumn* (Fig. 133), one of several showing the creek regaled in seasonal dress, retains something of the picturesque, but is also similar to the works of Theodore Rousseau in the individuation and centralization of the tree motif. Hillyer's many small studies of the Chesapeake Bay are singularly appealing and occasionally strike a note of modernity.[67]

Flavius J. Fisher, William Henry Hilliard, Arthur Dunham Bryant, Edward Lind Morse, Bladen Tasker Snyder, and a host of other artists added much to the diversity of the Washington Landscape School. Fisher's *Dismal Swamp* (Fig. 134), for example, departs from the simple, picturesque scenes he usually painted, and its limpid brilliance suggests the impact of

Fig. 133. Henry Livingston Hillyer (1840–1886), *Rock Creek, Autumn*, 1879, oil on canvas, 16 × 20 in. Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown, Maryland; Gift of Joseph Brewer, New York City, 1970.

Fig. 134. Flavius J. Fisher (1832–1905), *Dismal Swamp*, c. 1885, oil on canvas, 30 × 50 in. Maier Museum of Art, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Fig. 135. William Henry Hilliard (1836–1905), *Landscape*, c. 1885, oil on canvas, 38½ × 28½ in. Haussner's Restaurant, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland.

Fig. 136. Arthur Dunham Bryant (1856–1939), *Tyrian, Bee Hive geyser, Dr. Gallaudet's tent, Yellowstone Park, Aug. 4, 1886,* 1886, pencil drawing, from sketchbook no. 29; 9 × 11⅝ in. Archives, Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C.

Church's luminist works. An original member of the Washington Art Club, Fisher was one of those who, along with Vinnie Ream Hoxie, petitioned the directors of the Corcoran Gallery of Art in 1879 to allow artists into the gallery in the evening to sketch from the antique. Fisher's wife, a painter of charming still lifes, exhibited with him frequently in local groups.[68]

By the time he arrived in Washington late in life, William Henry Hilliard had developed from a Hudson River realist to a lyricist in the manner of Camille Corot. Although nothing is known of his years at the Capital, Hilliard must have felt at home artistically, as his *Landscape* (Fig. 135), steeped in the Barbizon tradition, accorded with local efforts. Even if derivative, Hilliard's late works, such as *Landscape near Barbizon*, have a personal quality similar to those of Gilbert Munger, who retired to Washington at the same time as Hilliard.

Arthur Dunham Bryant apparently was the only deaf person in Washington working as a professional painter during the late nineteenth century. A graduate of Gallaudet College, he remained there for many years as an art teacher and perhaps received instruction himself from Constantino Brumidi, who wrote him: "I am glad to see you and if I can give some information . . . and I can help you in your studio in the art I will be willing. . . ."[69] Of the many landscapes Bryant painted none has been discovered. Several of his renderings of leaf forms

Fig. 137. Edward Lind Morse (1857–1923), *Landscape*, c. 1895, oil on canvas, 15 × 24 in. Reading Public Museum And Art Gallery, Reading, Pennsylvania.

and his sketchbooks, however, reveal a sensitive hand at various stages of development; this is seen in the crude but vigorous drawing of Bee Hive Geyser and Dr. Gallaudet entering his tent at Yellowstone National Park (Fig. 136), done during a trip west in 1886.

Despite his having built one of the more imposing studio houses in the city, with which his father Samuel had an enduring connection, Edward Lind Morse had cosmopolitan tastes that often led him beyond the Capital. His *Landscape* (Fig. 137), for example, reflects his love of the mountains of his native New York, and of New England as well. Delicately somber in mood, the painting also bears the impress of Morse's friendship with Alexander Wyant, well known for his moody reflections on the Adirondacks.

Unlike Morse, Bladen Tasker Snyder was a native Washingtonian and one of the city's more eccentric artists. Little is known of him except that he worked with Messer in Paris (Fig. 138), painted in North Africa, and lived for a time on the third floor of the Octagon House. In his last years Snyder roamed the streets attracting much attention, as Ruel Tolman noted, "because he looked like Christ dressed in rags." Nevertheless, two small landscapes and several sketches confirm Tolman's observation that he was an "Excellent painter in his early years." Indeed, *Tree in a Meadow* (Fig. 139) and its companion piece are among the finest Impressionist paintings done at the Capital.[70]

When Walt Whitman exclaimed in *Song of Myself*: "I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so/ placid and self-contain'd . . .," he was expressing the nostalgia felt by many Americans for the rapid passing of agrarian life. As symbols of that life, animals shared the great popularity of the landscape in nineteenth-century painting, and often took on equally profound associations. Here again, the Barbizon painters led the field. In Millet's mystical *The Sheepfold, Moonlight*, for example, the sheep are not only equivalents of nature, but

Fig. 138. Left, Edmund Clarence Messer; right, Bladen T. Snyder, in Paris, c. 1885. National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery Library, Smithsonian Institution.

intimate the biblical theme of the shepherd and his flock. Such images were deeply meaningful to the age, as can be seen in the great prices paid for paintings of this type by Millet, Troyon, Jacques, Mauve, and Verboeckhoven (all well represented in the Waggaman collection). Even American followers of the Barbizon masters often fared well. Carleton Wiggins's large pastoral scenes with sheep brought as much as $10,000. At the Capital, also, many artists painted animal scenes, but none more consistently than Reuben Le Grande Johnston, another key member of the Washington Landscape School.[71]

In the reports on local exhibits, reviewers noted invariably that Johnston was "again" represented by his charming bucolic scenes with animals. Usually these were of sheep grazing on sunlit green hills. Painted with small, fluffy strokes, they are quite similar to paintings by Wiggins, although Johnston never shared the latter's success. Much more vigorous is Johnston's *Landscape with Bull* (Fig. 140) which combines the large peering animal motif and dramatic chiaroscuro of the seventeenth-century Dutch painter Paulus Potter with the skillful brushwork and coloring of the French Barbizon masters Constant Troyon and Charles Jacques. Other American artists had arrived at a similar fusion of styles—Wiggins, William H. Howe, and John B. Johnston—but at least it is clear how they did so. Of Johnston's training only that which can be inferred from his extant works is known, and from his wife's heady remark that, "He developed his ability solely by working from nature in England, France, Spain, Tangiers, Morocco and America."[72]

That Johnston was in North Africa and

Fig. 139. Bladen Tasker Snyder (1864–1923), *Tree in a Meadow*, c. 1900, oil on cardboard, 5⅜ × 7⅜ in. Robert S. Fastov.

France is suggested by his *Moroccan Guardsman* (Fig. 141), a large, richly colored work in the manner of Eugene Delacroix. It is the only figural piece by the artist thus far discovered, and in size and subject suggests it was done for the salon. Like others of the Washington Landscape School, Johnston was an excellent watercolorist, and if one looks beyond his animals, a fine landscapist. A large watercolor of a creek and cottage in Maryland is among his best, and most appealing is a small, poetic Normandy scene, done in the manner of Homer Martin's *Mussel Gatherers*. The latter may well have been the *Twilight in Normandy* that Johnston sold, along with fifty-eight other paintings in Baltimore. The sale must have been devastating to the artist as the *Twilight* brought $25.00, no painting more than $40.00, and one $2.50, a demoralizing commentary on the power of a name, and on the comparative efficacy of different market places.[73]

In 1889, when William Henry Holmes (Fig. 142) exhibited his painting *A Walk on the Sands* at the National Academy of Design in New York, he listed its price at $160. Soon, the noted landscape artist Henry Farrar wrote him, "Don't you think that is too low a figure? it certainly seems so to the [exhibition] committee, the picture would probably sell just as readily at $260 or $300 as at the first figure." The incident is revealing in that it indicates the genuine modesty Holmes felt about his paintings, as indeed did most of the Washington Landscape School about their work. Being removed from the most active centers of art, they had no adequate notion of the quality or value of their art.

Fig. 140. Reuben LeGrande Johnston (1850–1918), *Landscape, with Bull*, c. 1885, oil on panel, 24 × 18 in. Collection of Virgil E. McMahan and Robert H. Laible.

Fig. 141. Reuben LeGrande Johnston (1850–1918), *Moroccan Guardsman*, c. 1880, oil on canvas, 58 × 40 in. American Export Group International Services, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Fig. 142. Nicholas Richard Brewer, *Dr. William Henry Holmes*, c. 1915, oil on canvas, 44⅛ × 34¼ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of Mrs. Nicholas Webster, 1940.

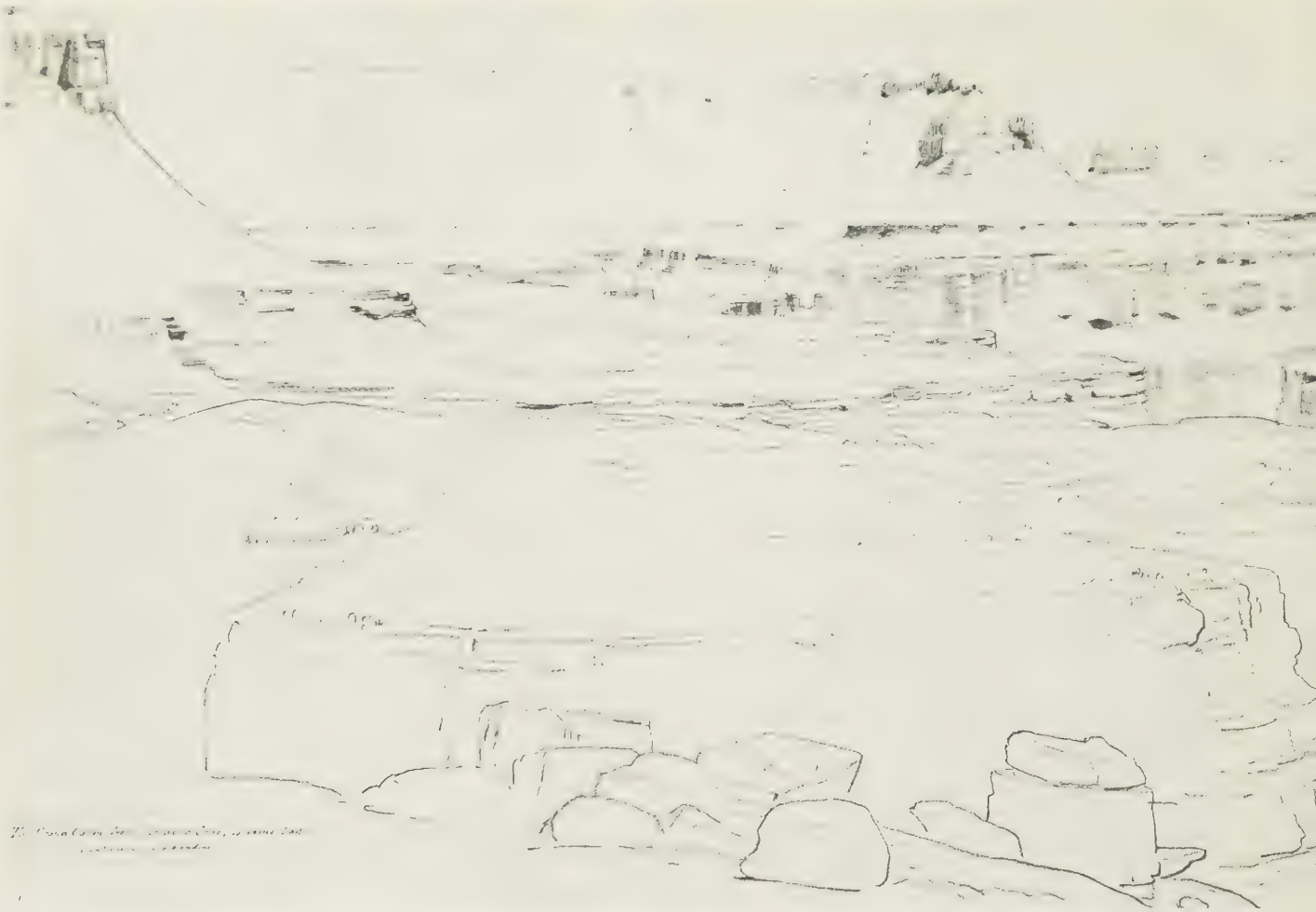
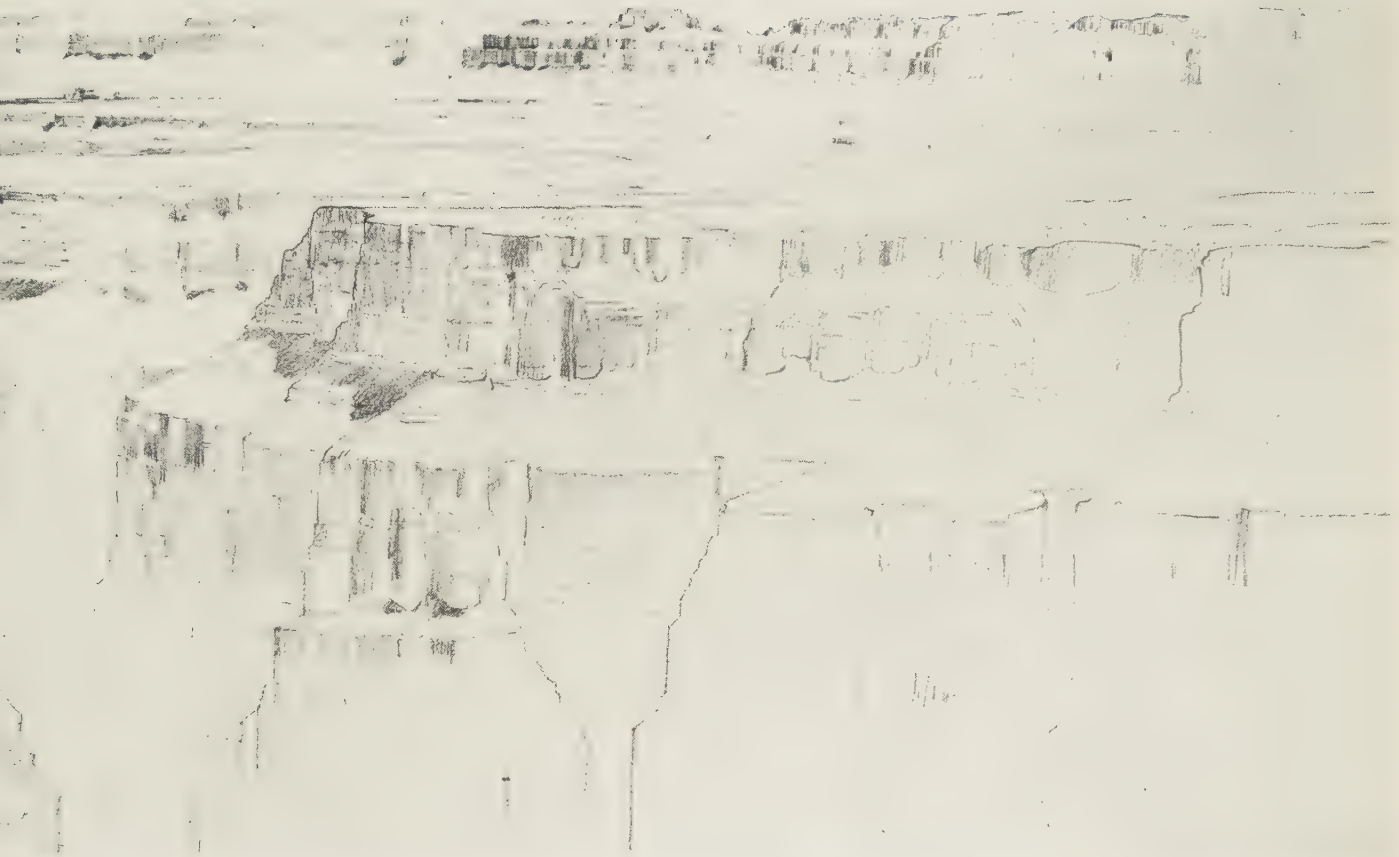


Fig. 143. William Henry Holmes (1846–1933), *Grand Canyon from Toroweap*, 1880, pencil sketch (two folio sheets), 12⅞ × 39 in. U. S. Geological Survey, Reston, Virginia.

The local art critic Leila Mechlin, however, recognized Holmes as the best watercolorist in Washington and among the best in the country. Further, the noted Joseph Pennell, who had worked with Holmes briefly in the 1870s, recalled in his *Adventures of an Illustrator* (1924): "But how Holmes, who could make the most stunning direct water colors should have preferred this sort of drudgery [topographical mapmaking] was beyond me. . . ."[74]

Pennell was referring to Holmes's work for the U.S. Geological Survey, which he had joined shortly after coming to Washington in 1871. In the space of some seventeen years with the survey, Holmes had not only developed a unique style and facility in watercolor, but had mastered the sciences of geology, archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology. The best measure of his achievements as a scientist are his many renowned publications on Indian paleolithic culture and on Mayan culture at Chichen Itza. By 1894 Holmes's reputation was such that he was induced to leave temporarily the position he had won as director of the Bureau of Ethnology for the Smithsonian to serve as professor of geology and curator of anthropology at the University of Chicago and the Field Columbian Museum, respectively.

Holmes's contributions as an artist while in the Geological Survey are summed up in his remarkable *Grand Canyon from Toroweap* (Fig. 143), one of nine panoramas done for Major Clarence Dutton's brilliant *Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon District of Colorado* (1882). The combination of beauty and truth in these panoramas led Wallace Stegner to refer to them as the "highest point to which topographical illustration ever reached in this country." As well as



any of Holmes's works, these panoramas reveal the rare fusion of a scientific and poetic vision, one capable of rendering infinitely precise detail yet of capturing the spiritual essence contemporary man felt immanent in nature. In a sense Holmes and Thomas Eakins worked in parallel directions, but obviously toward different ends. Where Eakins, immersed in the humanist tradition of Western art, self-consciously depicted men in action, Holmes sought the quiet drama inherent in timeless, universal forces at work, a factor that inspired a detached sort of intensity in all his art.[75]

When his brush was not at the service of science, Holmes employed it in search of nature's more poetic moods. *Mrs. Holmes and Students at Rock Creek Park* (Fig. 144) typifies his watercolors from 1880 through 1915, in which external reality and internal sentiment are delicately fused. It also reflects Holmes's quiet rapture in the texture of nature—atmosphere, light, water, solid rock—and his disarmingly simple means. Holmes developed his technique in the 1870s through his study with Theodore Kaufmann (he had come to Washington expressly to study with him), and probably through his association with Walter Paris, but also through his years of strenuous communion with nature.

Holmes's instinctive compatibility with nature, in fact, dictates the beauty of his *Wanderlusters' Rest* (Fig. 145) in which two young ladies languish under the shade of the great sycamore tree at "Holmescroft," his summer home in Rockville. In its broken brushwork, high-key color, and sense of palpable light, the work is clearly Impressionist, although Holmes would have violently rejected that label. Like others of the period, he mistakenly understood

Fig. 144. William Henry Holmes (1846–1933), *Mrs. Holmes and Students at Rock Creek Park,* 1910, watercolor, 17½ × 24½ in. Mary Holmes Campbell.

Fig. 146. William Henry Holmes (1846–1933), *A Cliff Dweller's Ceremony, Colorado*, 1924, watercolor on paperboard, 14 13/16 × 20½ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of the artist, 1930.

the term to include the works of Matisse and the Fauves, which he considered aberrations, both socially and artistically.

Yet Holmes's conservative beliefs were not a little at variance with his own spontaneous style, and certainly would not have prepared one for the colorism and expressiveness of his late works. Many of these are poetic visions while others are orgies of pure color. Surely the most spectacular is the small watercolor *A Cliff Dweller's Ceremony, Colorado* (Fig. 146), an almost revelatory interpretation of the southwestern Pueblo culture that Holmes and the photographer Henry Jackson had explored in the 1870s, and which he had depicted in several realistic paintings. In its sweeping power and technique, the *Cliff Dwellers Ceremony* conveys the sense of optimism that sustained Holmes throughout his life, as well as the power of his hand and eye at its most profound level of expression.

Holmes's achievements in other areas were equally notable. Most importantly, as curator and director of the National Gallery of Art, from 1906 to 1932, he developed a remarkable program of exhibitions; organized the meager, scattered collections; fought hard to make the gallery independent; and increased its holdings

g. 145. William Henry Holmes (1846–1933), *The anderlusters' Rest*, 1915, oil on canvas, 30¼ × 40⅛ in. ational Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; ift of the artist.

Fig. 147. DeLancey W. Gill (1859–1940), *Street in the Pueblo of Zuni, New Mexico,* 1888, watercolor, 22⅛ × 30 in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Museum Acquisition, 1955.

dramatically by acquiring the collections of Harriet Lane Johnston, William T. Evans, Ralph Cross Johnson, and John Gellatly. Not the least important, Holmes was unstinting in his commitment to the local community, to the Cosmos Club, of which he was a founder, and to the art societies, in all of which he served as an officer. With fellow members of the Landscape Club he foraged the woods and creeks for pictorial subjects, and for a time he, Paris, Moser, and Gill made Washington a watercolor capital well respected even in New York.[76]

Holmes influenced other artists considerably, most of all DeLancey Gill. Gill also worked at the Smithsonian Institution for almost six decades, in the more limited role of director of the Division of Illustration for the Bureau of Ethnology. While Gill was capable of achieving the same pure, delicate tints as Holmes, his watercolors, as an anonymous critic remarked, are noted for "a certain microscopic exactness and delicacy of detail in middle distances that is unlike anything ever offered to the American exhibitions." The same writer related how William Merritt Chase and other artists at a National Academy exhibition were so impressed by Gill's watercolors that they bought all he had on display.[77]

Whether or not apocryphal, the story tells much of the beauty of Gill's paintings, adequately represented by his *Street in the Pueblo of Zuni, New Mexico* (1888) and *Georgetown College from the Potomac* (1887) (Figs. 147 and 148). In both watercolors the realism is exacting, yet modified in subtle ways to better represent the contrasting environments of the locations. By

Fig. 148. DeLancey W. Gill (1859–1940), *Georgetown College from the Potomac*, 1887, watercolor, 20 × 30 in., sight. Mrs. James F. Leahigh, Sr.

using thin washes on a pebbled surface in the Pueblo scene, Gill was able to convey both the aridity of New Mexico and the sparkling clarity of its sun. To capture the quality of the denser, moisture-laden atmosphere of the Capital, he applied opaque washes on a glazed support and heightened the chiaroscuro. Having accounted for climatic differences, Gill nevertheless maintained that razor-sharp clarity of image which the admiring critic had noted was characteristically his.

Certainly much of the sharpness of Gill's images (he could paint hazy scenes as well) derived from his visual acuity, but some was clearly the result of his use of photographs. For example, the *Street in the Pueblo of Oraibi, Arizona* (1888), a companion to the Zuni scene, is an exact transcription of a photograph taken by Jack Hillers, a remarkable Smithsonian photographer. Further research may show that the Zuni painting was also based on a photograph, and the Georgetown College scene as well. Gill, himself, was a superb photographer, having taken more than half of the 15,000 pictures of Indians housed in the Bureau of Ethnology. More than likely he also used his camera to fix the many delightful images he painted and drew of Washington streets, monuments, and buildings.[78]

In contrast to Gill's landscapes, those by James Henry Moser (Fig. 84) revel in suggestiveness. *Fireworks Across the Potomac* (Fig. 149) is a modest but inspired work in which Moser fused the decorative harmonies of Whistler's *Nocturne in Black and Gold: Falling Rockets* (1877), on which it is obviously based, with the more spiritualized mysteries of Albert Pinkham Ryder and George Inness. Similarly in his *Spring Evening* (1890s) and *Sunset—Mt. McIntyre* (1907), Moser evokes that sense of rapture he had suddenly felt before nature, and which he attempted to describe to his fellow Washington

Fig. 149. James Henry Moser (1854–1913), *Fireworks Across the Potomac*, 1902, oil on canvas, 19 × 29 in. Mr. and Mrs. James Moser Fetherolf.

artist, Parker Mann:

My eyes were opened to the beauty of the landscape this autumn as never before. I really believe I am approaching that inner Temple where Corot was High Priest, and Davis, Wyant, Innes, Troyon, Murphy and Bolton Jones have honored places among the saints. . . . I remember my past ecstacy over these gay effects in nature, but this year, though I have not denied their beauty—at eve and sunrise I have found a more wonderful tenderness and harmony—a color so ravishing that my color-sense has thrilled to a pitch I never dreamed of.

The collector William T. Evans, it is interesting to note, purchased the *Mt. McIntyre* from the Corcoran Biennial of 1908 and included it among the one hundred works by "prominent American painters" that he gave to the National Gallery of Art.[79]

Although misty mountain scenes and landscapes are among his best works, Moser was a varied talent. By the time he came to Washington in 1887, he had established himself as a watercolorist and as an illustrator, most notably of Joel Chandler Harris' *Uncle Remus* (1881), which included designs by Frederick S. Church as well. Almost immediately after arriving at the Capital, he painted the *Umbrella Mender* (Fig. 150), a charming genre scene not unlike those by Howard Helmick, and *The Deadly Still Hunt* (Fig. 151).

The latter painting is one of two large works bought of the artist by the curator of the Smithsonian's Department of Living Animals, William T. Hornaday, for use in the "Mammal Extermination Series" exhibit at the Ohio Valley Centennial in Cincinnati in 1888. The *Deadly Still Hunt* and its companion piece *Where the Millions Have Gone* (1888) are graphic representations of the wanton slaughter in the 1870s

and 1880s of the great herds of buffalo of the northern plains. They are also beautiful in their representation of the snow-covered and verdant stretches of Montana rangeland. Moser is said to have been commissioned to do two huge murals of the scenes, fifty-by-twenty-eight feet each, for the U.S. National Museum, but there is no certain evidence of this, and no such murals exist.[80]

Although represented here by oil paintings, Moser was primarily a watercolorist, and like Holmes and Gill, equally active in New York as at home. For many years he taught watercolor painting at the Corcoran School and established the Salmagundi Club in 1899 for the students, although practicing artists could join also. He even gave instruction to the wife of the president, Mrs. Benjamin Harrison. Apart from these activities, Moser was best known as an art critic. Robert Hinckley's description of him as art "dictator" at the *Post* notwithstanding, Moser's commentaries seem judicious and generally enlightening. Some of his most sensitive pieces were on Alice Pike Barney's work, on the local pastel painters, and on the Waggaman collection. Of the watercolors in that collection by the modern Dutch masters, which he especially admired, he wrote, saucily:

> *When first brought here I remember well what a revelation they were to the painters and students, and how to the layman, familiar only with the dainty superficial realism of the Hudson River and English illustrative literary water color, they were for the most part a collection of incomprehensible, dauby, unfinished sketches.*[81]

While Moser eventually came to accept the validity of Impressionism, he remained, with other Washington artists, in the conservative camp, subscribing to Barbizon influences, and to those of Ryder and Whistler, and the modern Dutch masters as well.

One of the most popular artists in Washington was Lucien Whiting Powell, who was practically unique among the landscapists in only occasionally painting the local scene. His forte was the grandiose, whether he was painting scenes of the American West, Venice, Rome, the Holy Land, or Egypt, all of which he saw through the eyes of Thomas Moran and Joseph M. W. Turner. He had studied with Moran and was enthralled by the work of Turner. The vibrant color in Powell's work and the largeness of conception, even when the scale is small, must have been refreshing to Washingtonians who had a sense of adventure, a craving for the exotic, and a taste for the cosmopolitan. Judging by the imposing Norman "Castle" that Senator and Mrs. John B. Henderson built in 1888 on 16th Street, no one possessed these qualities more than they. Thus their infatuation with Powell's work was not surprising. Indeed, Mrs. Henderson considered Powell a genius, established a studio for him in the Castle, and over the years bought more than 200 of his paintings.[82]

Among the best of Powell's considerable output are the *Grand Canal, Venice* and the *Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River,* subjects he painted repeatedly because they sold so well, and great varieties of which abound in local collections. Not unexpectedly these range in quality from the perfunctory to the magnificent. The *Grand Canal* (Fig. 152) is as Turneresque as the *Grand Canyon* (Fig. 153) is Moranesque, and both share the diffuse, heightened colorism of Powell's exemplars. Yet, as is evident in Powell's works, he never attained the elemental force of Turner, or the coloristic brilliance and persuasive scientific detail of Moran, although he approaches them most in his smaller works—watercolors and gouaches—such as *The Afterglow, Grand Canyon, Arizona* (1905).

The roll of landscape painters at the Capital during this period may be extended ad infinitum. Many unnamed here, however, were secondary painters, although a few are of sufficient merit to be mentioned: Henry Hammond Ahl, Charles Armor, Albertus Hutchinson Baldwin, Edwin Lamasure, and Eugene Alonzo Poole. The few watercolors of Baldwin available, for example, have the simple strength of Homer's, while the paintings of Ahl and Lamasure appeal through a certain brooding mystery.

Closely related to the landscape is the marine painting or seascape, which strangely seems never to have been in vogue at the Capital, despite its proximity to the sea. To be sure, artists from Munger to Holmes painted scenes of either coast when business brought them there, but none concentrated on seascapes until well after the turn of the century, when the younger painters were drawn irresistibly to

Fig. 150. James Henry Moser (1854–1913), *Umbrella Mender*, 1888, oil on board, 12 × 9⅞ in. In the collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Museum Purchase, 1968.

Fig. 151. James Henry Moser (1854–1913), *The Deadly Still Hunt*, 1888, oil on canvas, 45½ × 65½ in. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, St. Louis, Missouri.

Gloucester and Bar Harbor. Imogene Morrell's sensitive *Seascape* (Fig. 154) suggests that she may have painted others, but she is known as a history and portrait painter. The same is true of Edwin Lamasure, who did at least one enchanting moonlit seascape.

Frank Christian Muller was the one Capital artist who painted the sea with any degree of regularity, but primarily as an adjunct to the "portraits" of new ships and of battles that he was commissioned to do for the navy. Nevertheless, works such as the *U.S.S. Maine* (Fig. 155) indicate Muller had a deep feeling for the subject, although his paintings lack the color and drama of Edward Moran's famous series of naval battles now hanging in the Naval Academy—the location of many of Muller's works.

Indeed, the battleship piece almost demanded an inflated pictorial rhetoric, as it was a sign of the imperialistic urges of the Gilded Age, just as landscape was of its reticence. In fact, it is interesting to note how the enduring dualism of the Capital was objectified in these two types of painting: while the battleship piece symbolized the aggressive mood and policies of the federal city, the quiet landscape gave voice to the local city's reveries and yearnings toward Arcady.

Fig. 152. Lucien Whiting Powell (1846–1930), *Grand Canal, Venice*, c. 1900, oil on canvas, 30½ × 51½ in.
James M. Goode.

Fig. 153. Lucien Whiting Powell (1846–1930), *Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River*, 1901, oil on canvas, 74 × 114¼ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of the Honorable John B. Henderson.

Fig. 154. Imogene Robinson Morrell (?–1908), *Seascape*, c. 1885, oil on canvas, 8½ × 14⅛ in. John and Dorothy McDonough.

Fig. 155. Frank Christian Muller (1860–1938), *U.S.S. Maine*, 1895, oil on canvas, 29 × 41 in. U. S. Naval Academy Museum, Annapolis, Maryland.

Fig. 156. Washington Landscape Club Dinner at the Cosmos Club, February 8, 1929. Robert S. Fastov.

EPILOGUE

The richness and diversity that characterized the art of the Capital from 1875 to 1915 was part of a powerful cultural florescence that permeated the whole of Western society. Many of the American cities that lent their energies to that creative outburst—New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington—could boast of earlier moments of greatness, but for the Capital the experience was unique. At last the city had attained a sense of identity, and its local artists finally shared a unity and intensity of purpose, largely rooted in their devotion to the beauties of the surrounding landscape. With the coming of World War I, and the disruption and racial strife it brought, and with the death by 1920 of most of the leaders of the Washington Landscape School—Brooke, Messer, Weyl, Moser, Johnston—that rare moment in Capital history passed, but not without leaving a bountiful legacy of heirs to carry on its traditions.

Most of this second generation of artists had studied with the "old masters" of the Capital, and most were also enamored of the landscape, which they naturally interpreted in the new idioms. The bulk of them, like artists elsewhere, adopted either a modified Impressionism or the rugged, structural geometries and planar tensions of Cézanne. Several carried on the figural, cityscape, and still life traditions, but genre practically disappeared, apparently incompatible with modernism. Indeed, only the landscape movement crystallized into a formal organization with the founding in 1913 of The Landscape Club of Washington, D.C. (Fig. 156), which, in addition to the younger artists, included the several surviving members of the old school: Holmes, Gill, and Powell, and the sculptor Bush-Brown.[1]

The most distinguished landscapists of the second generation were August H. O. Rolle (a key member of the Landscape Club), Edgar Hewitt Nye, and Hobart Nichols. Rolle and Nye, as can be seen in their *Winter, Rock Creek* and *Rock Creek, Early Summer*, respectively (Figs. 157 and 158), subscribed to Cézanne's style, but with differences. Whereas Nye retained the earthen colors of the master, but resorted to traditional perspective space; Rolle employed Cézanne's architectonics, but adopted a palette of lavenders and other complex colors that originated with Gauguin and which found favor with the painters of the Delaware and Brandywine schools. Rolle's paintings rank along with those of Elmer Schofield and Edward W. Redfield. Unlike Rolle and Nye, Hobart Nichols turned to an Impressionism (Fig. 159) similar to Ernest Lawson's—moderately high-keyed in color, vigorous in brushwork and impasto, but relatively undiluted in form. As president of the National Academy of Design in New York for many years, Nichols was probably the most famous, if not the most distinguished, of the Washington school of painters.

Alexis B. Many, Benson Bond Moore, Wells Moses Sawyer, William Posey Silva, and Everett Longly Warner also employed a modified Impressionism, with which they created works of distinctly individual beauty. Many and Moore, the one an art teacher the other a nature illustrator and conservator, nourished the landscape tradition at home, along with Rolle and Nye, and probably went further than any other local artists in applying Impressionist principles (Figs. 160 and 161). Sawyer, Silva, and Warner carried the Capital banner far afield, to Florida, California, and New York and New England, respectively. Sawyer, who with Nichols had been an illustrator for the Smithsonian, painted resonant winter and summer scenes (Fig. 162), while Silva responded deeply to the opalescence of the California coast at Carmel (Fig. 163). Warner, a friend of Charles

Fig. 157. August H. O. Rolle (1875–1941), *Winter, Rock Creek Park*, c. 1925, oil on canvas, 25½ × 30 in. Robert S. Fastov.

Bittinger's, ranged widely in subject and style. His winter landscapes (Fig. 164) have a poetic beauty comparable to but denser than John Twachtman's, while his urban scenes combine the delicacy of Guy Wiggins with the strength of Robert Henri.

The cityscape was continued by a number of artists whose works reflect well the quickening pulse of urban life at the Capital. With fractured, lightning strokes not unlike John Marin's Winfield Scott Clime, for example, effectively conveys in his *Key Bridge Under Construction* (Fig. 165) the massive energies and quick rhythms of modern society. A noted photographer, Clime painted energetic landscapes and seascapes as well, and was one of the founders of the Landscape Club. Caroline Van Hook Bean's *Wall Street, Armistice Day* (Fig. 166) also partakes of the vibrance of urban life. No doubt inspired by Childe Hassam's recent canvasses on wartime New York, *Wall Street* is one of a series Bean did on Manhatten during that memorable period at war's end. The theme of the gaily decorated, flag-draped street has a long pedigree, however, going back from Monet and Manet to Carpaccio, whose festive Venetian

Fig. 158. Edgar Hewitt Nye (1879–1943), *Rock Creek, Early Summer*, 1943, oil on canvas, 37 × 42¼ in. Mrs. Charles Dunn.

scenes were admired by the early moderns.

Bean, who lived more than one hundred years, painted many Washington scenes—including some especially handsome ones in the 1920s—and staunchly maintained the strong local tradition of talented and independent women artists, as did Catherine Carter Critcher. Although older than Bean, Critcher was quite as progressive artistically, moving from a dark but pleasing academic style in the 1890s and later to a powerfully coloristic, expressive style in the 1920s—as in her *Taos Farmers* (Fig. 167)—which she shared with the painters of Taos. In fact, as she wrote to C. Powell Minnigerode, director of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Critcher was "the first & only woman" admitted into the Taos Society of Artists, a rare distinction indeed.[2]

In a sense, the New Mexico connections of Critcher, and the equally distant ties of Nichols, Sawyer, Silva, Warner, and others, spelled the dispersal of the Washington school of artists.

Fig. 159. (Henry) Hobart Nichols (1869–1962), *Moonrise at Ogunquit*, 1914, oil on canvas, 36¼ × 36¼ in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of William T. Evans, 1914.

To be sure, there were many artists working here between the wars among whom a sense of community existed, but complex factors disallowed the cohesiveness that distinguished the "golden age" of 1875 to 1915. Only with the emergence of the Washington Color School in the 1960s was that spirit manifested again to any great degree.

Fig. 160. Alexis B. Many (1879–1937), *Reflection No. 1*, c. 1930, oil on canvas, 24 × 27 in. The George Washington University Permanent Collection, The Dimock Gallery.

Fig. 161. Benson Bond Moore (1882–1974), *Corn Field, Fox Hall, D.C.*, oil on canvas, 16 × 20 in. Gary L. Johnson Antiques, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Fig. 162. Wells Moses Sawyer (1863–1960), *Winter at Snug Rock*, oil on board, 16¼ × 20¼ in. In the collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Gift of friends of the artist.

Fig. 163. William Posey Silva (1859–1948), *Opal Waters*, c. 1920, oil on canvas, 16 × 20 in. John Dowling Relfe Collection, San Francisco, California.

Fig. 164. Everett Longley Warner (1877–1963), *Brook in Winter*, c. 1905, oil on canvas, 26 × 32 in. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Fred D. Bentley, Sr., and Mr. and Mrs. J. Alan Sellars.

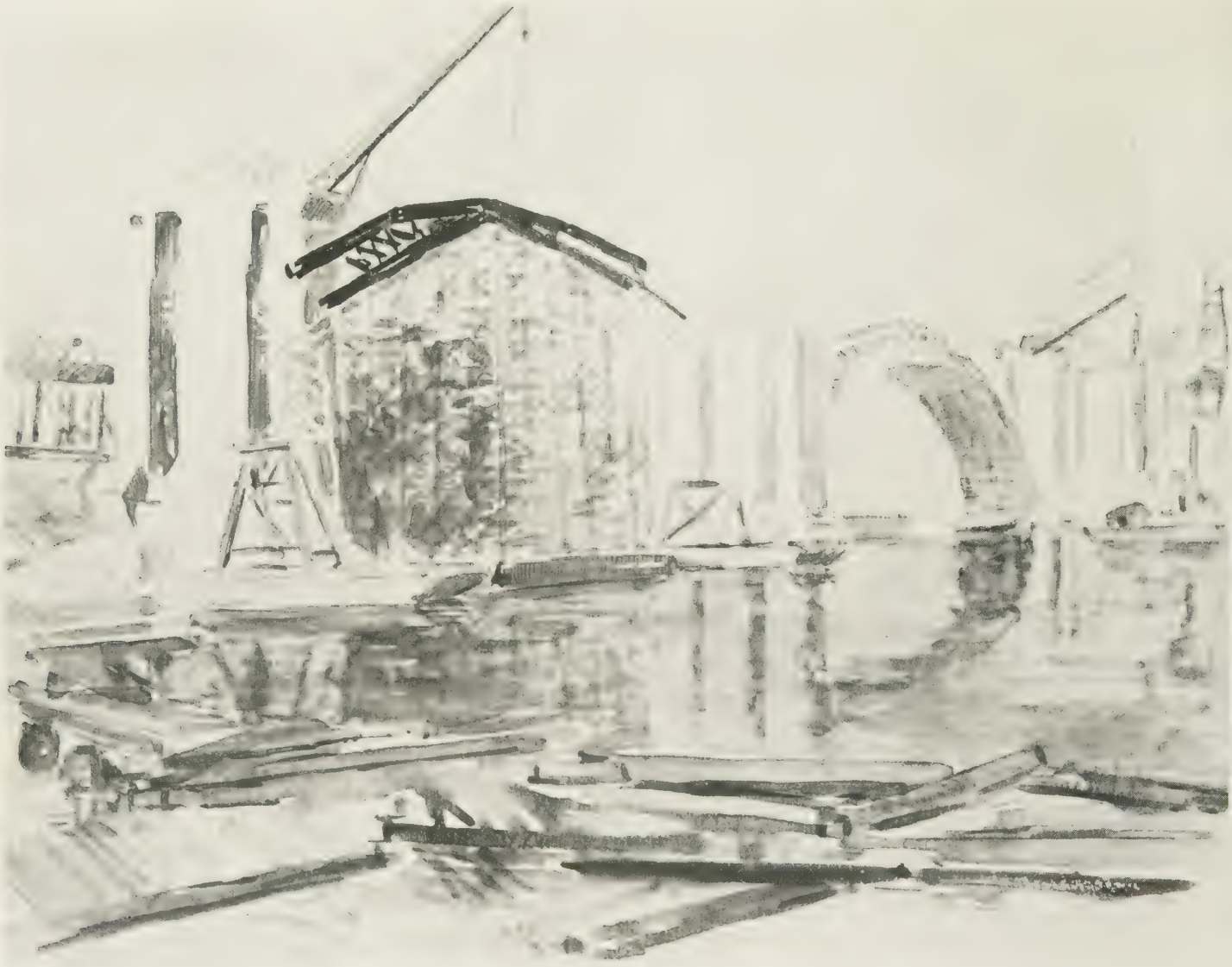


Fig. 165. Winfield Scott Clime (1881–1958), *Key Bridge Under Construction*, 1920, watercolor, 8½ × 11¼ in. Kiplinger Washington Collection, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 166. Caroline Van Hook Bean (Binyon) (1879–1980), *Wall Street, Armistice Day,* 1920, oil on canvas, 36 × 24 in. Mark H. Cornell.

Fig. 167. Catherine Carter Critcher (1868–1964), *Taos Farmers*, c. 1928, oil on canvas, 40¼ × 36¼ in. The collection of the San Antonio Art League, Texas.

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20. Barbara S. Groseclose, *Emanuel Leutze, 1816–1868: Freedom is the Only King* (Washington, D.C., 1975), pp. 57, 96; Cobb, "Washington Art Association," p. 134.

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2. Green, *Washington Capital*, vol. 2, pp. 77, 132, 152–53, 190.

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4. John Mix Stanley Papers, roll 687, frame 832, Archives of American Art.

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7. *Corcoran School of Art; The Corcoran Gallery*, Washington, D.C., March, 1908, and other catalogues through 1922.

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31. "Artists at Home," Washington *Times*, undated, Brooke Vertical File, National Museum of American Art; letter of April 18, 1881, from Brooke to the directors of the Corcoran Gallery, no. 2142, Archives, Corcoran Gallery of Art.

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57. Quoted in a Boston paper, probably the *Evening Transcript*, March 16, 1908, roll N82, frame 393, Archives of American Art.

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63. Peter Bermingham, *American Art in the Barbizon Mood* (Washington, D.C., 1975), p. 89.

64. Evelyn Levow Greenberg, "Max Weyl, Painter of Pre-Urban Washington," *The Record: Publication of the Jewish Historical Society of Greater Washington* 2 (January 1967), passim.

65. Ibid.

66. The encomium is quoted from an untitled, undated newspaper clipping; the other is from the *Star*, November 30, 1907, both in the Weyl Vertical File, National Museum of American Art.

67. *Henry Livingston Hillyer (NA), 1840–1886* (Hagerstown, Md., 1972–1973), passim; Hillyer's papers and many paintings are preserved at the Washington County Museum of Fine Arts in Hagerstown, Md., and we are indebted to the Curator, Robert Preszler, for admitting us to their use.

68. Letter of February 14, 1879, from Fisher, Hoxie, and Spencer, to Dr. James Hall, President of the Corcoran Board, no. 1518, Archives, Corcoran Gallery of Art; Lucille McWane Watson, "Relic of Reconstruction," *Iron Worker* (Autumn 1960), passim; see also, Ruth Holmes Blunt, *The Lynchburg Art Club and Its Affiliates* (Lynchburg, Va., 1962); we are indebted to Louise Blunt of Lynchburg for much information on Fisher.

69. Ledger L-999 D. E., Archives, Gallaudet College; we are most grateful to Corinne Hilton and David DeLorenzo, archivists at the college, for their assistance, and also to Mildred Thompson for information on Bryant.

70. Hand-written statement by unknown author (probably Ruel Tolman), dated March 20, 1939; and newspaper clipping "Paintings of Eccentric Shown," the *Herald*, September 1924, Snyder Vertical File, National Museum of American Art.

71. Bermingham, *Barbizon Mood*, pp. 74ff., for a good discussion on animal painting.

72. Ibid.; letter of April 16, 1932, from Mrs. Johnston to W. H. Holmes, R. L. Johnston Vertical File, National Museum of American Art.

73. Undated news article, "Paintings At Low Prices," R. L. Johnston Vertical File, National Museum of American Art.

74. Andrew J. Cosentino, "William Henry Holmes, Artist-Scientist, 1846–1933," Washington, D. C., 1982, passim.

75. Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundreth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West* (Boston, 1964). See also, Clifford M. Nelson, "William Henry Holmes: Beginning a Career in Art and Science," *Records, CHS*, vol. 50 (1980); and William H. Goetzmann, *William H. Holmes Panoramic Art* (Fort Worth, 1977).

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77. A loose page from *Afterthought*, presumably a local magazine, undated, p. 70, in the Holmes papers, Box 10, Archives, National Museum of American Art.

78. Gill Vertical File, National Museum of American Art; the Hillers photograph of Oraibi is in the National Anthropological Archives, National Museum of Natural History.

79. Grace Moser Fetherolf, *James Henry Moser: His Brush and His Pen* (Phoenix, 1982), pp. 46, 120. We are grateful to the artist's grandsons, Samuel and James Fetherolf, the first for sending us a copy of his mother's recently published book on her father's art; and the second for affording us much information and assistance regarding Moser.

80. Ibid., p. 48; for information on the paint-

ings and for copies of Moser's letters to Hornaday, we are grateful to Norman G. Messinger, acting superintendent, National Expansion Monument, St. Louis, Mo.

81. Ibid., pp. 82, 84, 88, 112, 128; "Waggaman Art Gallery," an undesignated news article by Moser in his Vertical File, National Museum of American Art.

82. "Powell, Lucien Whiting," *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 8, p. 149; on the Henderson "Castle" see James M. Goode, *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings* (Washington, D.C., 1979), pp. 106–18.

Epilogue

1. *The Landscape Club of Washington, D.C.*, 1927, a pamphlet giving a capsule history of the club, and a list of members as of 1927; courtesy of Robert Fastov of Washington, who also supplied us with the photograph of the club, and the "Log-Book of the Ramblers," 1917, a collection of essays by the club's members.

2. Mary Carroll Nelson, *The Legendary Artists of Taos* (New York, 1980), p. 97.

BIOGRAPHIES, SOURCES, AND INDEX OF THE ARTISTS

Apart from the specific references given with each of the biographies, the basic sources of information on the artists treated in the text are: Virgil E. McMahan, *Washington, D.C.: Artists Born Before 1900: A Biographical Directory*; the Vertical Files on individual artists in the Library of the National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery; and the listings, by artist, of extant works of art in the Inventory of American Paintings at the National Museum of American Art, all of which contain data on most other known Washington artists as well.

Essential sources of documentary material include the collections of correspondence in the Letterpress Books at the Archives of the Corcoran Gallery of Art; the Archives of American Art, which has an abundance of material, such as the papers of Carl Gutherz, the Hale Family, James Henry Moser, and John Mix Stanley; and the Vertical Files on individual artists in the Curator's Office, Architect of the Capitol. Other useful sources include the Catalogue of American Portraits at the National Portrait Gallery; the Pre-1877 Exhibition Catalogue Index at the National Museum of American Art; and various Washington newspapers, especially the *National Intelligencer*, the *Post* and the *Star*, which are a rich, relatively untapped resource. Full citations for all these sources are given in the footnotes and are not repeated here, with the exception of those extended biographical sketches that appear in such references as the *Dictionary of American Biography*. The most useful published biographical sources are listed in the Bibliography.

Agate, Alfred Thomas See Fig. 26; text, pp. 63–65, 70

Born February 14, 1812 (or 1817), in Sparta, N.Y. Studied with his brother Frederick and with Thomas Cummings. Lived in New York, 1831–38. Served as "portrait and botanical artist" on the Wilkes around-the-world expedition, 1838–42. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1842–46. Prepared over half the illustrations for Wilkes's six-volume *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (1844–45). Married Elizabeth Hill Kennedy of Alexandria, 1845. Died January 5, 1846, in Washington, D.C.

Next to Nature: Landscape Paintings from the National Academy of Design. Ed. Barbara Novak and Annette Blaugrund. New York: National Academy of Design, 1980.

Tyler, David Budlong. *The Wilkes Expedition: The First United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968.

Wilkes, Charles. *Autobiography of Rear Admiral Charles Wilkes, U.S. Navy, 1798–1877*. Ed. William James Morgan, et al. Washington, D.C.: Department of the Navy, 1978.

Andrews, Eliphalet Frazer See Figs. 73, 80; text, pp. 132, 134, 142

Born June 11, 1835, in Steubenville, Ohio. Graduated from Marietta College, Ohio. Married Emma Stewart, 1857. Studied with Lüdwig Knaus and Heinrich Mücke in Düsseldorf, 1859–63, and with Léon Bonnat in Paris, 1863. In Steubenville, 1863–76. Visited New York, 1863, and Düsseldorf and Paris, 1873. Lived in

Washington, D.C., 1876–1915. Gave free instruction at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1877–87. Served as director and instructor of art at the Corcoran School of Art, 1887–1902. Visited Paris, 1888, 1891. Married Marietta Minnigerode (q.v.), 1895. Had a studio-house on Scott Circle, and a country house, "Vaucluse," in Alexandria, Va. Died March 19, 1915, in Washington, D.C.

Caldwell, J.A. *History of Belmont & Jefferson County*. Wheeling, W. Va.: Historical Publishing Co., 1880.

Clark, E. M. *Ohio Art and Artists*. Richmond, Va.: Garrett & Massie, 1932.

Marsh, Allan Thomas. "Washington's First Art Academy: The Corcoran School of Art, 1875–1925." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1983.

Andrews, Marietta Minnigerode See Fig. 103; text, pp. 134, 142, 165, 169

Born December 11, 1869, in Richmond, Va. Studied with Andrews (q.v.) at the Corcoran School of Art; with William Merritt Chase in New York; with Luigi Chialiva in Paris; and with Max Liebermann in Munich. Lived in Washington, D.C., 1890–1931. Was assistant instructor at the Corcoran School of Art, 1890. Visited Italy, 1892. Married Eliphalet F. Andrews, 1895. Was a founder-member of the Washington Water Color Club, 1896. Designed stained-glass windows for St. Paul's Church in Steubenville, Ohio. Was the author of numerous literary works. Died August 7, 1931, in Alexandria, Va. (at "Vaucluse," in Seminary Hills).

Adler, Gail Shipman. "Marietta Minnigerode Andrews." Manuscript in progress. Washington, D. C.

Andrews, Marietta M. *Memoirs of a Poor Relation*, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1927.

_____.*My Studio Window*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1928.

Barney, Alice Pike See Figs. 75, 113; text pp. 133, 180–81

Born 1857 in Cincinnati, Ohio. Married Albert Clifford Barney of Dayton, Ohio, 1876. During the years 1876–89, lived in Cincinnati, New York, and Europe. Studied china painting with Elizabeth Nourse in Cincinnati, 1881. Studied painting in Paris with Benjamin Constant, Jean P. Laurens, Emile Carolus-Duran, and Jean J. Henner, 1886–88. Exhibited at the Salon, 1889. Built a house in Bar Harbor, Maine, 1889. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1890–97; built a house on Scott Circle. Studied painting with James McNeill Whistler at the Carmen Academy in Paris, 1897–98, and exhibited at the Salon. Returned to Washington, 1901–24. Her husband died, 1902. Built "Studio House" on Sheridan Circle with the architect Waddy B. Wood, 1903. Founded the Sylvan Theatre on the Washington Monument grounds, 1917. Supported Barney Neighborhood House. Moved to Los Angeles, 1924. Died October 12, 1931, in Los Angeles.

Barney Studio House. Brochure. National Museum of American Art, 1981.

Hall, Delight. *Catalogue of the Alice Pike Barney Memorial Lending Collection*. Washington, D. C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, 1965.

McClelland, Donald R. *Where Shadows Live: Alice Pike Barney and Her Friends*. Catalogue of an exhibition at the National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C., January 20–May 21, 1978.

Mother of Romaine Brooks's friend

Baumgras, Peter See Figs. 42, 43; text, pp. 91–92, 94, 97, 101, 117

Born January 4, 1827, in Hamburg, Bavaria, Germany. Studied at the Düsseldorf Academy, 1844–46. Also studied at the Royal Academy, Munich, under Friedrich Kaulbach and Karl Schorn, 1847–52. Immigrated to Syracuse, N. Y., 1853. Married Mary Thomson, 1856. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1857–77. Served as surgical draftsman in the Union army (drawings at the Army Medical Museum). Was assistant professor of drawing at the U. S. Naval Academy; and professor of art at Columbian (George Washington) University and at the Columbia Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind (Gallaudet College). In California, c. 1871–75. Employed as artist by Louis Agassiz, 1871. Visited Oregon, Washington, and Victoria, B.C. Served as professor of art, University of Illinois, 1877. In Iowa, 1878. Settled in Chicago, 1879. Returned to Washington, D. C., 1900–1903. Died 1904 in Chicago, Ill.

"Baumgras, Peter." *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Vol. 10, p. 365.

Pratt, Waldo S. *A Forgotten American Portrait-*

Painter: Peter Baumgras 1827–1903. Hartford, Conn: Privately printed, 1937.

Bean (Binyon), Caroline Van Hook See Fig. 166; text, pp. 230–31
Born 1879 in Washington, D. C. Her father, Dr. Tarleton H. Bean, was an icthyologist with the Smithsonian Institution. Moved to New York in the 1890s, where her father became director of the Aquarium. Studied in Paris, c. 1893–94. Graduated from Smith College, 1903, and studied with John Singer Sargent in London, Bernardus J. Blommers in Holland, and Harry Thompson in Paris. Lived in New York, 1905–21. Studied at the St. Louis School of Art, and at the National Academy of Design with William Merritt Chase. Returned to Washington, 1921. Had her studio in Georgetown. Married Algernon H. Binyon. Remodeled and built houses in Georgetown. Died December 24, 1980, in Washington, D. C.

Caroline Van Hook Bean (American 1880–) "*New York City in Wartime (1918–1919).*" Catalogue of an exhibition at the Chapellier Galleries, New York, N. Y., April 3–24, 1970.

Berryman, Clifford Kennedy See Fig. 110; text, p. 179
Born April 2, 1869, in Clifton, Kentucky. Graduated from Professor Henry's School for Boys, in Versailles, 1886. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1886–1949. Was a draftsman for the U. S. Patent Office, 1886–91. Joined the *Post* in 1891 as understudy cartoonist for George Y. Coffin, whom he succeeded, 1896–1907. Married Kate Geddes Durfee of Washington, 1893. Created the "Teddy Bear" image of President Roosevelt, 1902. Joined the *Star*, 1907–49. Received a Pulitzer Prize for a cartoon, 1944. Illustrated numerous publications. Died December 11, 1949, in Washington, D. C.

Berryman Cartoons; A Collection of Mr. C. K. Berryman's Best Pictures That Have Recently Appeared in the Washington Post . . . . Washington, D. C.: Saks and Co., 1900

Bersch, Carl See Fig. 41; text, pp. 82, 89, 117
Born May 3, 1834, in Zweibrucken, Germany. Studied art at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich until 1859. Immigrated to New Orleans, 1860; then moved to Memphis, Baltimore, and Washington, D. C. Worked at Brady's (q.v.) studio. Married Angelica Bode of Towson, Md. Naturalized, 1866. In Pittsburgh, 1873. Settled in Baltimore. Visited Europe, 1907–8. Died May 1, 1914, in Baltimore, Md.

Faust, Dr. A. B. "Carl Bersch—Artist and Portrait Painter." *American-German Review*, August 1944, pp. 4–7.

Bittinger, Charles See Figs. 122–24; text, pp. 185, 190–91, 195
Born June 27, 1879, in Washington, D. C. Stepbrother of John Marin; nephew of Annie Wilson, long-time director of art, District of Columbia public schools. Studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1898–1900. In Paris, 1900–1906. Studied at the Ecole under Jean Léon Gérôme and Jean P. Laurens, and at the academies of Auguste Delécluse and Filippo Colarossi. Married Edith Gay, 1904. In New York, 1907–14. Studied at the Art Students League and maintained a studio. Lived in Duxbury, Mass., 1915–29. Was a camouflage artist during World War I, 1917–19. Member of the Optical Society, 1921. Returned to Washington, 1929. Painted murals at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, 1930s. Was the artist for the National Geographic and U. S. Navy Eclipse Expedition to Canton Island, 1937. Was a camouflage artist during World War II. Was official artist for Operation Crossword, Bikini Island; painted the atomic explosion, 1946. Held twenty patents. Died December 18, 1970, in Washington, D. C.

Nickerson, Dorothy. "Charles Bittinger." *Journal of the Optical Society of America* 61 (May 1971): 645–46.

Roberts, Elliott. "Charles Bittinger, 1879–1970." *Cosmos Club Bulletin* 27 (December 1974): 5–8.

Boggs, William Brenton See Fig. 57; text, pp. 105, 110, 125
Born July 2, 1809, in New Brunswick, N.J. Attended military school in Connecticut. Employed by the Phoenix Bank, New York. Exhibited in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1838. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1842–75. Worked as a civilian clerk in the Navy Department. Married Eleanor Carter of "Sabine Hall" in Va. Was commissioned purser, U. S. Navy, 1852. Served with the Pacific Surveying Expedition, 1852–56.

In Washington, 1856–57. Served on the U.S.S. *Plymouth*, and on the U.S.S. *Wyoming* with the Pacific Squadron, 1857–59. Worked in the Bureau of Provisions, Washington, 1862. Served with the Mississippi Squadron, 1862–64. Returned to Washington, 1864. Died March 11, 1875, in Georgetown, D.C.

Bonanni, Pietro See Fig. 9; text, pp. 34, 36
Born 1789 in Carrara, Italy. Studied under Jean-Baptiste Desmarais at the Academy, Carrara. Won a prize for *The Death of Count Ugolino*, 1809. In Paris, 1812–14. Studied with Jacques Louis David; also in Rome and Carrara. Immigrated to the U. S. In Washington, D. C., c. 1817–21. Opened a drawing and painting academy, 1818. Decorated the ceiling of the Old House of Representatives, c. 1819. Died June 15, 1821, in Washington, D. C.

Brady, Mathew B. See Fig. 65; text, pp. 115, 117
Born c. 1823 in Warren County, N. Y. Studied art with William Page, and daguerreotype photography with Samuel Morse. In New York, 1844; opened a photography studio. Opened a branch studio in Washington, D. C., 1849, which operated until 1881 under the management of Gardner (q.v.) and others. Married Juliette R. C. Handy, 1850s. Published first photographs of the Civil War, 1861. Lived in Washington, 1873–c. 1890. Entire collection of Civil War scenes (5,712) purchased by Congress for $25,000, 1875. Closed shop, 1881. Worked with other photographers. Died January 16, 1896, in New York, N. Y.

Cobb, Josephine. "Mathew B. Brady's Photographic Gallery in Washington." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C.* Vols. 53–56 (1959), pp. 28–69.

Brooke, Richard Norris See Pl. III; Figs. 90–93; text, pp. 86, 131, 134, 138, 139, 142, 155, 157, 201
Born October 20, 1847, in Warrenton, Va. Educated at the Virginia Military Institute (VMI). During the years 1865–71, studied at the Pennsylvania Academy with Edmund Bonsell and James R. Lambdin; taught at Mount Vernon Institute; Broad Street Military Academy; and Villa Nova College. Held the Chair of Fine Arts at VMI, 1871–72. Served as U. S. consul to La Rochelle, France, 1873–76. In the U.S., 1877. In France, 1877–79. Studied with Léon Bonnat, 1878. Lived in Washington, D.C., 1880–1920. Began collecting art for Thomas E. Waggaman, 1882. Was a founder-instructor of the Art Students League of Washington, 1884. Visited Holland, Paris, London, and The Hague, 1887–92. Studied with Emile Carolus-Duran and Benjamin Constant, 1888. Was vice-principal and instructor at the Corcoran School of Art, 1902–17. Was chairman of the Medals and Badges Committee of the President's Inaugural Committee, 1909, 1913. Died April 25, 1920, in Warrenton, Va.

[Brooke, Richard Norris]. "Record of Work . . . Since My Departure for Paris in 1878." Manuscript. Photocopy, Library, National Museum of American Art, Washington, D. C.

Joint Memorial Exhibition of Paintings by the Late Edmund C. Messer and Richard N. Brooke. Catalogue of an exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., November 6–21, 1920.

The Warrenton Presbyterian Church, Warrenton, Virginia, 1855–1950, n.p.

Bruff, Joseph Goldsborough See Figs. 28–29; text, pp. 54, 66–68, 70, 78, 169
Born October 2, 1804, in Washington, D. C. Attended West Point, 1820–22. Traveled. Worked as a topographical engineer, Gosport Naval Yard, Norfolk, Va., 1827–36. Returned to Washington, 1837. Worked in the U.S. Bureau of Topographical Engineers, 1838–49. Opened a museum in the 1840s. Organized the 64-member Washington City and California Mining Association which he led to California, 1849–51. Employed as an ornamental designer and draftsman, Office of the Supervising Architect, 1853–89. Died April 14, 1889, in Washington, D. C.

Catalogue of the Library of the Late J. Goldsborough Bruff, Washington, D. C., n.d.

Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff, Captain, Washington City and California Mining Association, April 2, 1849–July 20, 1851. Ed. Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949.

Myers, Denys Peter. *Gaslighting in America*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, Technical Preservation Division, 1978.

Brumidi, Constantino See Figs. 30–33; text, pp. 74–75, 78, 79, 83, 84, 207

Born July 26, 1805, in Rome, Italy. His father was Greek and his mother was Italian. Studied painting with Baron Camuccini and sculpture with Antonio Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen at the Academy in Rome, c. 1818. Decorated the villa and palace of Prince Torlonia; St. Paul's; and the Loggia di Raffaello in the Vatican, for Pope Pius IX. Imprisoned fourteen months during the French occupation of Rome, 1848–52, then exiled. Immigrated to New York, 1852. During the years 1852–54, painted altarpieces for St. Stephens in New York; the Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul in Philadelphia; and the Cathedral at Mexico City. Settled in Washington, D. C., 1854. Hired by Captain Montgomery C. Meigs as chief fresco painter of the Capitol, 1854. Naturalized, 1857. Slipped from scaffolding while painting the frieze in the Rotunda, 1879. Died February 19, 1880, in Washington, D. C. His son, Laurence (q.v.), was a Washington artist also.

Ahrens, Kent. "Constantino Brumidi's 'Apotheosis of Washington' in the Rotunda of the United States Capitol." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C.*, Vols. 73–74 (1976), pp. 187–208.

Diamond Jubilee of St. Aloysius Church Washington, D. C., 1859–1934. Washington, D. C.: W. F. Roberts Co. [1934].

Murdock, Myrtle Cheney. *Constantino Brumidi: Michelangelo of the United States Capitol*. Washington, D. C.: Monumental Press, 1950.

Wyeth, Samuel Douglas. *Description of Brumidi's Allegorical Painting within the Canopy of the Rotunda*. Washington, D. C.: Gibson Bros., Printers, 1866.

Brumidi, Laurence S. See Fig. 82; text, pp. 142, 146

Born May 12, 1861, in Washington, D. C. Studied with and assisted his father, Constantino (q.v.). Served as director of the Kansas City Art Association and School of Design, 1888. In Paris, 1893–94. Studied with Beuf, Jules Lefebvre, Benjamin Constant, and Léon Bonnat. Admitted to St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, 1916. Died November 10, 1920, in Washington, D. C.

Missouri. A Guide to the "Show Me" State. American Guide Series. Reprint. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1973.

Bryant, Arthur Dunham See Fig. 136; text, pp. 132, 204, 207–8

Born 1856 in Deerfield, Mass. An attack of scarlet fever in 1858 left him deaf and mute. Lived in Washington, D.C., 1864–1939. Entered the Kendall School, 1864. Graduated from Gallaudet College, 1880. Served as instructor in drawing and painting at Gallaudet College, 1880–1916. Students included the etcher Cadwallader Washburn. Married Susie Cornelia Benedict, 1887. Traveled West with the president of the college, Dr. Edward M. Gallaudet, 1886. Ordained Baptist minister, 1911; served at the Calvary Baptist Church. Died 1939 in Washington, D. C.

Bush-Brown, Margaret Lesley See Fig. 83; text, pp. 146, 165

Born May 19, 1857, in Philadelphia, Pa. Studied at the Pennsylvania Academy. In Paris, 1883. Studied with Emile Carolus-Duran and Jean J. Henner, and at the Julian Academy with Jules Lefebvre and Gustave Boulanger. In Philadelphia and New York, 1884–1910. Married Henry Kirke Bush-Brown, 1895. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1910–41. Retrospective exhibition held at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1911. Moved to Pennsylvania, 1941. Died November 16, 1944, in Ambler, Pa.

Chapman, John Gadsby See Figs. 15–16, 18; text, pp. 42, 44–45, 47–50, 62, 70

Born December 8, 1808, in Alexandria, Va. (then part of the District of Columbia). During the years 1824–27, he studied with King (q.v.) and Cooke (q.v.) in Washington, and Thomas Sully and Pietro Ancora in Philadelphia. In Winchester, Va., 1827. Studied in Rome and Florence, 1828–31. Divided his time between New York and Washington, 1831–48. Painted the *Baptism of Pocahontas* for the Capitol, 1837–40. Designed and executed 1,400 illustrations for Harper's *Illuminated Bible*, 1843–46. Published the *American Drawing Book*, 1847–58. Expatriate in Rome, occasionally visiting home, 1848–84. Lived in Brooklyn, N. Y., with his son, 1884–89. Visited Mexico. Died November 28, 1889, in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Campbell, William P. *John Gadsby Chapman: Painter and Illustrator*. Catalogue of an exhibition at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., December 16, 1962–January 13, 1963.

Chamberlain, Georgia Stamm. "'The Baptism of Pocahontas': John Gadsby Chapman's Gigantic Mural in the Rotunda of the National Capitol." *Iron Worker* 23 (Summer 1959): 15–22.
_____. *Studies on J. G. Chapman, American Artist, 1808–1889*. Annandale, Va., 1963.
Hallowell, Henry Clay. "Reminiscences." [1893] Microfilm of a typescript paper, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

Clements, Alexander Hamilton See text, pp. 62, 101, 105
Born June 2, 1818, in Georgetown, D. C. Served as consul to Messina, Italy, 1849–52. Back in Washington, 1852–56. Served as consul to Pernambuco, Brazil, 1856–58. Returned to Washington, 1859. Shared a studio with Stanley (q.v.). Served as captain during the Civil War, 1862–65. In 1863 married Kate Harry, daughter of the artist Philip Harry. Served in various capacities in the Department of State, 1866–96. Died December 22, 1896, in Washington, D. C.

Register of the Department of State. Washington, D. C., 1896.

Clephane, Lewis See Fig. 1; text, pp. 21, 24
Born in 1752. Active in New York City as a miniaturist and hairworker, 1787–88. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1797–1833. Worked as a decorative painter at the Capitol and White House under Dr. William Thornton. Was proprietor of a painting, glass, canvas, and frame business. Died 1833 in Washington, D. C. [Clephane's great-nephew, Lewis Clephane II, was a founder of the local Republican party and publisher of the *National Era*, which engaged Harriet Beecher Stowe to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Lewis II's son, Lewis Painter Clephane (1869–1948), was a professional artist long active in Washington, D. C.]

Batson, Whaley W. "Lewis Clephane." Manuscript in progress. Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Clephane, Walter C. "Lewis Clephane: A Pioneer Washington Republican." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C.* Vol. 21 (1918), pp. 263–77.
Ford, Worthington C. "Diary of Mrs. William Thornton, 1800–1863." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C.* Vol. 10 (1907), pp. 88–226.

Clime, Winfield Scott See Fig. 165; text, p. 230
Born November 7, 1881, in Philadelphia, Pa. Studied at the Drexel Institute and the Philadelphia School of Industrial Arts; at the Corcoran School of Art; and at the Art Students League of New York. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1910–20. Was a founder of the Landscape Club of Washington, 1913. In New York and Old Lyme, Conn., 1920–58. Died March 13, 1958, in Old Lyme, Conn.

Closson, William Baxter Palmer See Figs. 116–19; text, p. 185
Born October 13, 1848, in Thetford, Vt. Educated at the Thetford Academy. Worked as a clerk in the railroad office. Went to Boston as an apprentice wood engraver with Samuel S. Kilburn. Studied drawing at the Lowell Institute. Worked as a free-lance engraver for Century Co., Harper's, and for various Boston book publishers. Shared a studio with George Fuller. Went to Europe, 1881–83, to engrave masterpieces for Harper's. Exhibited at the Paris Salon. Louis Prang's *Homes and Haunts of the Poets* (1886) included etchings by Closson. Developed a unique wood engraving technique, 1888. In Paris, 1888–89. Exhibited at the Salon. Quit engraving for painting, 1890. During the years 1907–17, lived in Washington, D. C., Boston, and Newton, Mass. Married Grace Worden Gallaudet Kendall, widow of Francis Lockwood Kendall and daughter of Dr. Edward Miner Gallaudet, president of Gallaudet College, Washington, D. C. Died May 30, 1926, in Hartford, Conn.

"Closson, William Baxter Palmer." *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Vol. 28, 21–22.
Downes, William Howe. *Closson Memorial Exhibition*, 1927. [Boston?]
Linton, William J. *The History of Wood-Engraving in America*. Boston, 1882.

Cooke, George See Figs. 14, 17; text, pp. 40, 42, 44–45, 47, 62
Born March 14 (or 17), 1793, in St. Mary's County, Md. Entered into various businesses at

St. Mary's, c. 1810–12; Georgetown, D. C., 1812–16; and Richmond, Va., 1816–18, where he married Mary Ann Heath, 1816. Went West, 1818. Returned to Washington and studied painting with King (q.v.), 1819–20. Studied in Italy and France, 1826–31. During the years 1831–49, was an itinerant from New York to New Orleans. With the backing of Daniel Pratt, opened the National Gallery of Painting in New Orleans, 1844–49. Pratt added a gallery to his home in Prattville, Ala., expressly to display Cooke's paintings. Died March 26, 1849, in New Orleans, La. Buried in Prattville, Ala.

Banks, William Nathanial. "George Cooke, Painter of the American Scene." *Antiques*, September 1972, pp. 448–54.

Descriptive Catalogue of Paintings in the Gallery of Daniel Pratt, Prattville, Alabama, Together with a memoir of George Cooke, Artist. Prattville: Howell & Luckett, Printers, 1853.

Rudulph, Marilou Alston. "George Cooke and His Paintings." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 44 (June 1960); 116–53.

Cranch, John See Fig. 19; text, pp. 42, 50, 78
Born February 2, 1807, in Washington, D.C. Studied with King (q.v.) and Chester Harding in Washington, and in 1828 with Thomas Sully in Philadelphia. Studied in Italy, 1830–34. Worked in New York, 1838–39 and 1848–54; and in Cincinnati, 1839–44. Lived in Washington, 1855–78. Moved to Ohio, 1881. Died January 6, 1891, in Urbana, Ohio.

Quade, Willie Vale Oldham. "Christopher Pearse Cranch and John Cranch, Nineteenth Century Artists." Master's thesis, George Washington University, Washington, D. C., 1969.

Critcher, Catherine Carter See Fig. 167; text, pp. 131, 231
Born September 13, 1868, in Westmoreland County, Va. Her father was Judge John Critcher. Studied at Cooper Union, and at the Corcoran School of Art with Andrews (q.v.). In Paris, 1904–9. Studied at the Julian Academy with Richard Miller and Charles Hoffbauer. Opened a school for American art students with Miller as instructor, 1905–9. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1909–64. Taught at the Corcoran School of Art, 1909–19. Opened and operated the Critcher School of Fine and Applied Arts, 1919–30s. Elected member of the Taos Society of Artists, 1924. Ran a summer school in University, Va., 1920s–30s. Died June 11, 1964, in Washington, D.C.

Brennan, Barbara E. "Catherine Carter Critcher." Master's thesis, in progress, Indiana University, 1983.

Nelson, Mary Carroll. *The Legendary Artists of Taos*. New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1980.

Custis, George Washington Parke See Pl. II; text, pp. 37, 56–57
Born April 1781, in Mount Airy, Md. Adopted by George Washington, his step-grandfather. In New York, 1789. Took lessons in painting from William Dunlap. Attended the College of Philadelphia, 1790–92. In Washington, D. C., 1795. Attended the College of New Jersey, 1796–97. In Mt. Vernon, 1798. Joined the army, 1799; discharged as a major. Lived in Arlington, Va., 1802–57. Built "Arlington House" with the assistance of the architect George Hadfield, 1803–18. Married Mary Lee Fitzhugh, 1804. Began painting, 1809. His daughter, Mary, married Robert E. Lee, 1831. Began the series of large paintings on the Revolutionary War, 1848. Died October 10, 1857, in Arlington, Va.

Lossing, Benson. "Arlington House: The Seat of G. W. P. Custis, Esq." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 7 (September 1853): 434–54.

Nelligan, Murray H. "'Old Arlington': The Story of the Lee Mansion National Memorial." Unpublished paper, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Capital Parks, Washington, D. C., n.d.

Dougal, William H. See Fig. 27; text, pp. 65–66, 101
Born January 20, 1822, in New Haven, Conn. Apprenticed to Sherman and Smith, engravers, New York in 1837. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1844–95. Engraved plates for Charles Wilkes' *Narrative*, 1844. Possibly taught engraving to Munger (q.v.), who resided with Dougal for a time. Participated in the California gold rush, 1849–50. Married Miss Adler of Georgetown,

1850. Built an Italianate residence on 3259 R Street in Georgetown, 1854, which still exists. Was commissioner of engraving and printing for the U.S. Treasury. Died 1895, in Georgetown, D. C.

Off to California: The Letters, Log, and Sketches of William H. Dougal, Gold Rush Artist. Ed. Frank M. Stranger. Oakland, Calif.: Biobooks, 1949.

Drury, John H. See Figs. 58–60; text, pp. 105, 110, 111–12
Born June 30, 1816, in Washington, D. C. His father, Samuel, was a well-respected justice of the peace. Was a shoe dealer and dry goods merchant, and also was employed by the Post Office. Studied art with Thomas Doughty. Married Mary C. Donelan of Boston, 1845. During the years 1856–59, traveled to London, Munich, Rome, and Paris, where he studied with Thomas Couture. Was in New York and Washington, 1860–63. Lived in Chicago, 1863–1905. Had a studio in the Crosby Opera House, then in the Academy of Design. Lost many paintings in the great fire of 1871. Returned to Washington often. In Washington, 1905–14. Died after 1914, probably in Washington, D. C.

Andreas, Alfred Theodore. *History of Chicago . . . .* Chicago: A. T. Andrews, 1884–1886.

Dunn, Charles See Fig. 112; text, p. 179
Born December 9, 1894, in Washington, D. C. Was a cartoonist and advertising artist for the *Times*. Studied with Mahoney (q.v.) at the National School of Fine & Applied Arts, 1917; at the Corcoran School of Art, 1919; with Nye (q.v.), 1919–20; at the Pennsylvania Academy, 1921; and with Charles W. Hawthorne, 1920–24. Visited Brittany, France, 1927. Was chief artist for the *Nation's Business*. Died April 11, 1978, in Washington, D. C.

Eastman, Seth See Fig. 50; text, pp. 78, 97, 101–2, 125, 126
Born January 24, 1808, in Brunswick, Maine. Attended and was graduated from West Point, 1824–29. Studied art with Thomas Gimbrede at West Point. Stationed in various places during the years 1829–32: Fort Crawford; Fort Snelling; Louisiana; and Connecticut. Was an instructor of topographical drawing at West Point, 1833–40, where he also studied with Charles Robert Leslie and Robert W. Weir. In Florida and Virginia, 1840. Stationed at Fort Snelling, 1841–48. In Texas, 1848. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1849–55. Did illustrations for Henry Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States* (6 vols.). Assigned various duties in Texas, and from Washington, D. C., to Utah, 1855–67. Settled in Washington, 1867. Painted for the House Committees on Indian Affairs and Military Affairs twenty-six pictures, nine of Indian life and seventeen of forts. Died August 31, 1875, in Washington, D. C.

McDermott, John Francis. *Seth Eastman, Pictorial Historian of the Indian*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

Fassett, Cornelia Adele Strong See Fig. 78; text, pp. 139–40
Born November 9, 1831, in Owasco, Cayuga County, New York. Married the Chicago photographer-artist Samuel Montague Fassett, 1851. Studied watercolor painting in New York with the Scottish artist James B. Wandesforde, c. 1852. Went to Italy and Paris, 1852–55. Studied with Giuseppe Castiglione, La Tour, and Gabriel Mathieu. Lived in Chicago, 1855–75. Visited Europe, 1866. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1875–98. In 1886 the Congress authorized the purchase of her *Electoral Commission of 1877*. Died January 4, 1898, in Washington, D. C.

"Fassett, Cornelia Adele Strong." *Dictionary of American Biography*. Vol. 3, p. 296.

Fenderich, Charles See Fig. 21; text, pp. 50, 52, 54
Born February 10, 1805, in Laufenburg, Switzerland. Apprenticed to the lithographer Joseph Brodtman in Zurich. Studied drawing under Heinrich Stork. Employed by Brodtman, 1823–24. Joined the shop of Gottfried Engelmann, in Mulhouse. In Paris, 1830. Immigrated to U.S., 1831. Lived in Philadelphia, 1831–37. Worked for the lithographic firm of Childs and Inman. Was a partner with Johann Caspar Wild. Established his own press, 1834. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1837–49. Established a shop on Pennsylvania Avenue. Probably visited Mexico, 1846. Joined Bruff's (q.v.) California gold rush expedition, 1849. Settled in California, 1850. Lived in Eliza City; San Jose, 1850; and San Francisco, 1851–87. Naturalized in Yuba City,

1856. Died 1887, probably in San Francisco.

Parker, Alice Lee, and Milton Kaplan. *Charles Fenderich, Lithographer of American Statesmen: A Catalog of His Work.* Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1959.

Fisher, Flavius J. See Fig. 134; text, pp. 204, 207
Born 1832 in Wythesville, Va. Raised in eastern Tennessee. In Philadelphia, 1844–49. Probably studied with J. R. Lambdin. During the years 1855–73, worked in Lynchburg, Va.; Petersburg, Va., 1858; eastern Tennessee; and Richmond. Studied in Germany and Paris, 1860–66. Was the first American admitted to the German Art Institute. In 1868 his studio in Lynchburg burned, destroying many paintings. In Richmond, 1873–75. Settled in Washington, D. C., 1876. Visited Lynchburg often. Had a studio in the Corcoran Building, 1882–1905. Died May 9, 1905, in Washington, D. C. [His wife Elizabeth P. Fisher (?–1927) was also an artist. She exhibited a still life at the first Corcoran Biennial in 1907.]

Blunt, Ruth Holmes. *The Lynchburg Art Club and Its Affiliates.* Lynchburg, Va.: Mutual Press, 1962.

Watson, Lucille McWane. "Relic of Reconstruction." *Iron Worker,* Autumn 1960, pp. 8–10.

Freeman, Daniel See Pl. V, Fig. 105; text, p. 172
Born 1868 in Alexandria, Va. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1881 through 1919. Attended school. Studied photography with E. J. Pullman, 1885. Established a commercial photography studio. Arranged the District exhibition in the Negro Building at the Atlanta Exposition, 1895. Organized the Washington Amateur Art Society. Taught photography at Frelinghuysen University, 1919. Died after 1919, probably in Washington, D. C.

Hutchinson, Louise Daniel. *Anna J. Cooper: A Voice from the South.* Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.

Union League Directory. Washington, D. C., 1901

Fuller, Susan E. W. See Fig. 71; text, pp. 126, 195, 197
Born in 1831. Studied at Cooper Union. Possibly at Saratoga Springs, N.Y., 1868. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1871–1907. First teacher and director of art in the District public schools, 1873–1907. Also ran the private Washington School of Art, 1873–? Died July 6, 1907, in Washington, D. C.

Public Schools Washington, D. C. (Annual School Report 1873–74), pp. 33, 77, 161.

Gardner, Alexander See Fig. 66; text, pp. 115, 117
Born 1821 in Scotland. Trained as a chemist. Immigrated to New York, 1856. Worked for Brady (q.v.). Lived in Washington, D. C., 1858–82. Managed Brady's studio, 1858–62. Joined the Army of the Potomac as official photographer, 1862. Opened his own business on Pennsylvania Avenue, then on 7th Street. Published photographs of the Civil War, 1863; of the Union Pacific Railroad, 1867; and for the rogues gallery for the District police, 1873. Died December 1882, in Washington, D. C.

Cobb, Josephine. "Alexander Gardner." *Image: Journal of Photography of the George Eastman House,* June 1958, pp. 124–36.

Gibbs, George Fort See Figs. 100–101; text, pp. 146, 161, 165, 181
Born March 8, 1870, in New Orleans, La. His father was a naval surgeon. Attended school in Geneva, Switzerland. Attended the U.S. Naval Academy, 1886–88. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1898–1903. Studied at the Corcoran School of Art and at the Art Students League. Illustrator for the *Saturday Evening Post* of Philadelphia, from 1899. Published *Pike and Cutlass* (1900), the first of fifty novels that he wrote and illustrated. Married Maud Stovell of Philadelphia, 1901. Published a portfolio of drawings, "American Sea Fights," 1903. Settled in Rosemont, Pa., 1903. Had his studio in Philadelphia, but was active throughout his life in Washington. Painted murals for Girard College and the 30th Street Station (n.d.) in Philadelphia. Died October 10, 1942, in Bryn Mawr, Pa.

"Gibbs, George Fort." *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography.* Vol. 33, p. 237.

Gibson, Richard R. See text, p. 62
Born c. 1795 in Maryland. Lived in Washington, D. C., c. 1829–55. Painted a panorama of Que-

bec, 1829. Ran a drawing and painting academy in Washington, c. 1832–55. Was the instructor of Miller (q.v.), 1848. Died after 1855, probably in Washington, D. C. [His widow married J. A. Simpson (q.v.).]

Gill, DeLancey W. See Figs. 147–48; text, pp. 218–19
Born July 1, 1859, in Camden, S. C. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1874–1940. Was a draftsman for the Supervising Architect, designing ornamental ironwork and tiles, 1877–84. Was an illustrator then director of the Division of Illustration for the U.S. Geological Survey and the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1884–1932. Did field work with Holmes (q.v.). Practiced photography. Taught at the Corcoran School of Art and the Art Students League. Died August 31, 1940, in Alexandria, Va.

Glenn, James R. "De Lancey W. Gill: Photographer for the Bureau of American Ethnology." *History of Photography* 7 (January 1983): 7–22.

Gotthold, Florence Wolf (Mrs. Frederick) See Fig. 96; text, pp. 158, 159
Born October 3, 1858, in Ulrichsville, Ohio. Brought to Washington by her parents in 1862. Studied with R. R. Fritz; H. Siddons Mowbray; Henry G. Dearth; and in Washington, D.C. with Weyl (q.v.). In New York, 1898–? Spent summers at Cos Cob, Conn. Exhibited at the Yorke Galleries in Washington. Died 1930, probably in New York City. [Her father, Simon Wolf, was a prominent Washington attorney.]

Cyclopedia of Virginia and the District of Columbia. Madison, Wis.: Fuller and Bryant, 1891, pp. 357–60.

Guillaume, Louis Mathieu Didier See Figs. 86–87; text, p. 150
Born June 10, 1816, in Nantes, France. Studied in Paris with Lacour and Paul Delaroche. Exhibited in the Salon, 1837. Immigrated to the U. S., 1855, encouraged by William G. Rives, minister to France. In New York and Washington, 1855–57. Lived in Richmond, Va., 1857–72. Settled in Washington, D. C., 1874. Probably completed the painting *Surrender of Lee to Grant*, which was begun in Richmond. Died April 13, 1892, in Washington, D. C.

Perlik, Annabel Shanklin. "Signed 'L. M. D. Guillaume': Louis Mathieu Didier Guillaume, 1816–1892." Master's thesis, George Washington University, 1979.

Watson, Lucille McWane. "Lee and Grant Return to Appomattox." *Iron Worker* 19 (Spring 1955): 1–14.

Gutherz, Carl See Figs. 88–89; text, pp. 150–51, 153–54
Born January 28, 1844, in Schoeftland, Switzerland. Immigrated with his family to Cincinnati, 1851. His father, Heinrich, established the Western Pottery Co. Moved with his family to Memphis, 1860. In Paris, 1868–70. Studied with Isidore Pils, Jules Lefebvre, and Gustave Boulanger. In Belgium, 1870. In Munich, 1871; studied with Wilhelm von Kaulbach. In Rome, 1872; studied with Attilio Simonetti. In Memphis, 1873. Lived in St. Louis, 1874–84. With Halsey G. Ives, established the St. Louis School of Fine Arts. Married Katherine Scruggs of Alabama, 1879. In Paris, 1885–95. Exhibited often at the Salon. Was a critic at the Julian Academy. In 1887 the U. S. Congress purchased his painting *Farming in the Dakotas*. Received a commission to paint a mural for the new Library of Congress, 1895. Settled in Washington, D. C., 1896. Painted the mural for the Library of Congress, 1896–97, and one for the Supreme Court, 1902. Died February 7, 1907, in Washington, D. C.

Czestochowski, Joseph S. "Carl Guthrez." Unpublished paper, Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis, Tenn., 1975.

Hyland, Douglas. "Carl Gutherz and His Utopian Vision." *Interpretations: A Journal of Idea, Analysis, and Criticism* [Memphis State University] 13 (Spring 1982): 45–71.

Hale, Ellen Day See Pl. IV, Fig. 98; text, pp. 146, 161, 163, 165
Born February 11, 1855, in Worcester, Mass., the daughter of the Rev. Edward Everett Hale. In Boston, 1873–78. Studied with William Rimmer, 1873, and with William Morris Hunt and Helen Knowlton, 1874–77. In Philadelphia, 1878–79. Studied at the Pennsylvania Academy along with Bush-Brown (q.v.). Was in Canada, Colorado, Texas, and Boston, 1879–80. In Europe, 1881–83. Visited England, France, Bel-

gium, Holland, and Italy. Studied at the Academy Colarossi with Raphaël Collin and Gustave Courtois; with Emile Carolus-Duran and Jean J. Henner; and at the Julian Academy with Tony Robert-Fleury, Adolphe Bouguereau, and Giovanni Giacometti. Visited Spain and London. In Boston, 1883–85. Met Gabrielle Clements, from whom she learned printmaking. Taught at the Marlborough Street School. Assisted Knowlton at Hunt's school. In Paris, 1885. Studied at the Julian Academy. In Boston, 1886–91. Published her *History of Art*, 1888. During the years 1891–93, traveled in Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, and California. Set up her home "The Thickets" in Rockport, Mass., with Clements, 1893. Visited Europe with Clements, 1895. Traveled West, 1896. Lived in Washington, D.C., 1904–32, where she had come with her father, who was chaplain for the U.S. Senate. Visited the Middle East, 1929. Moved to Gloucester, Mass., 1932. Died February 11, 1940, in Brookline, Mass.

Ellen Day Hale, 1855–1940. Catalogue of an exhibition at the Richard York Gallery, New York, N. Y., October 17–November 14, 1981.

Hale, Nancy. *The Life in the Studio*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1969.

Hoppin, Martha J. "Women Artists in Boston, 1870–1900: The Pupils of William Morris Hunt." *American Art Journal*, Winter 1981, pp. 17–46.

Healy, George Peter Alexander See Fig. 70; text, pp. 70, 73, 122, 125

Born July 15, 1813, in Boston, Mass. Opened a studio, with encouragement from Thomas Sully, 1830. In Europe, 1834–42. Studied with Baron Gros and Thomas Couture in Paris. Visited Italy. In England, married Louisa Phipps, 1839. Returned to the U. S., to Washington, D. C., to paint President Tyler and others at the request of King Louis Philippe, 1842. In Paris, 1842–44. In Washington, D. C. to paint presidential portraits for Louis Philippe, 1844–45. In Europe, 1845–55. Lived in Chicago, 1855–67. Was a founder of the Art Institute of Chicago. Worked in Washington often. In Europe, U. S., Paris, Rome, 1867–92. Returned to Chicago, 1892–94. Died June 24, 1894, in Chicago, Ill.

De Mare, Marie. *G. P. A. Healy, American Artist*. New York: David McKay Company, 1954.

Evans, Robert J. *A Catalog of Paintings by G. P. A. Healy in the Illinois State Museum Collection*. Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Museum, 1974.

Healy, George P. A. *Reminiscences of a Portrait Painter*. Chicago: A. C. Mc Clurg & Co., 1894.

Heaton, Augustus Goodyear See Fig. 85; text, pp. 149–50

Born April 28, 1844, in Philadelphia, Pa. Studied at the Pennsylvania Academy under Peter Rothermel. In Paris with Robert Wylie, 1863–66. Was the first American to enter the Ecole. Studied with Alexander Cabanel. In Philadelphia, 1866–78. Served as professor of art, School of Design for Women. Stayed in New York, 1876–77. In Paris, 1878–84. Studied with Léon Bonnat and exhibited at the Salon. Visited Spain, Italy, U. S., and possibly Tangiers with R. L. Johnston (q.v.). Lived in Washington, D. C., 1884–1930; built a house and studio on 1618 17th Street. His painting *The Recall of Columbus* was purchased by the U. S. Congress, 1883, and was reproduced in 1893 on a fifty-cent stamp in the Columbian series. In 1898 his painting *Hardships of Emigration* was reproduced on a ten-cent stamp. Lived for a time in New York, 1913–19. Returned to Washington. Author of *The Nutshell*, a quarterly magazine; *A Treatise on the Coinage of the U. S. Branch Mints*; a new national anthem; books of verse; a treatise, *Color*; and various other works. Died October 11, 1930, in Washington, D. C.

"Heaton, Augustus George [*sic*]." *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Vol. 5, p. 315.

Sellin, David. *Americans in Brittany and Normandy: 1860–1910*. Catalogue of a traveling exhibition, September 24, 1982–August 14, 1983. Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1982.

Helmick, Howard See Fig. 94; text, pp. 132, 158, 220

Born 1845 in Zanesville, Ohio. In Philadelphia, 1862–64. Studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of The Fine Arts under Peter Rothermel. In Paris, 1868–69. Studied with Alexander Cabanel, and at the Ecole. Exhibited at the Salon. Lived in England, 1872–87. Exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1872. Was a member of the Royal Society of British Artists. Did a series of etchings on the life of Thomas Carlyle. Settled in Washington, D.C., 1887. Was an instructor at

Georgetown University; at the Art Students League; and at his private studio. Did many illustrations for *Harper's* and *Century* magazines. Died April 28, 1907, in Washington, D. C.

Skinner, Charles M. "From Many Studios." In *Essays on American Art and Artists*. Temple Court, New York: Eastern Art League, 1896.

Hilliard, William Henry See Fig. 135; text, pp. 204, 207
Born 1836 in Auburn, N. Y. Studied in New York City, 1876–77. In Boston, 1878–80. In Europe, 1880–84. Studied in Paris with Emile Lambinet, Eugene Ciceri, and Louis Français. Exhibited at the Salon, and at the Royal Academy in London, 1880. In New York, 1887–88. Settled in Washington, D. C., 1899. Died April 1905 in Washington, D.C.

Hillyer, Henry Livingston See Fig. 133; text, p. 204
Born May 2, 1840, in Utica, Ohio. Moved with his family to Jersey City, N. J., 1850–68. Worked in his father's produce business in New York City. Studied with Aaron Shattuck at New York University, 1856. Served as a civilian nurse for McClelland's army during the Civil War, 1862–64. Married Frances Fuller of New York, 1865. Studied painting in Europe for four months, 1866. In Georgia, 1868–73. Worked on his father's rice plantation; taught; served in State legislature. Lived briefly in Michigan. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1873–81. Was a founder and vice-president of the Washington Art Club, 1876. Taught privately. His wife studied medicine at Howard University. Worked for the Post Office, 1876. Was superintendent of a black Mission school, 1878. Painted three large works (6 by 9 feet), presently unlocated: *Past, Present,* and *Future*. In Grand Rapids, Mich., 1881–86. Was superintendent of grounds, Michigan Reform School for Girls, where his wife was an attending physician. For the U. S. Post Office Department, painted an 8-by-450 foot background for the Miniature Railway Mail Exhibit at New Orleans. Went briefly to Florida to run the Hillyer orange groves, 1885–86. Contracted malaria. Returned to Michigan. Died July 3, 1886, in Grand Rapids, Mich.

Henry Livingston Hillyer (NA), 1840–1886. Catalogue of an exhibition at the Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown, Md., December 3, 1972–January 30, 1973.

Henry Livingston Hillyer Papers and Art Works. Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown, Md.

Hinckley, Robert C. See Fig. 79; text, pp. 140–42
Born April 3, 1853, in Boston, Mass. In Paris he and his friend John Singer Sargent studied with Emile Carolus-Duran, Léon Bonnat, and at the Ecole. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1877–1910. Visited Paris, and exhibited at the Salon, 1880–84. Began the painting *First Operation Under Ether* in Paris, 1882. Returned to Washington, 1884. Married Eleanor O'Donnell of Baltimore, 1885. Served as instructor in portrait painting at the Corcoran School of Art, 1894–97. Finished the painting *Ether*, 1893. In Paris, 1894. Gave the painting *Ether* to the Boston Medical Library, 1903. Retired to Rehoboth Beach, Del., 1910. Died June 1, 1941, in Rehoboth Beach, Del.

Viets, Henry R., M. D. *Hinckley's Who Was Who on Ether Day*. Brochure of an exhibition of the Boston Medical Library, at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, Boston, May 22–24, 1962.

Wolfe, Richard J. "Hinckley's *First Operation Under Ether*." Paper in progress. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University, Boston, Mass.

Holmes, Kate Clifton Osgood See Fig. 99; text, pp. 161, 165
Born October 1, 1858, in Ellsworth, Maine. Moved with her family to Washington, D. C., c. 1862; remained to 1925. Studied painting with William Merritt Chase at the Art Students League, New York. Married W. H. Holmes (q.v.), 1883. Studied art in Europe for a year. Taught decorative arts in local schools and at the Madeira School, McLean, Va. Died April 19, 1925, in Washington, D. C.

Holmes, William Henry See Figs. 142–46; text, pp. 115, 139, 142, 150, 157, 165, 197, 199, 200, 201, 210, 214–15, 217–18
Born December 1, 1846, in Cadiz, Ohio. Graduated from the McNeely Normal School, 1870. Taught zoology, geography, and drawing there. Rejected by E. F. Andrews (q.v.) with whom he hoped to study art in Steubenville. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1871–94. Studied with

Kaufmann (q.v.), 1871–72, who held classes in King's (q.v.) studio. Hired by the Smithsonian as an illustrator, 1871. Taken on as artist and later geologist and archaeologist for the Ferdinand Hayden expeditions to the Yellowstone and Colorado, 1872–77. His panoramic drawings published in Hayden's *Geological and Geographical Atlas of Colorado* (1877). Visited Europe, 1879–80. Studied at the Munich Academy, and traveled to Holland and Italy. Served as artist-geologist on Clarence Dutton's expedition to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, 1880. His panoramic drawings published in Dutton's *Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon* (1882). Married Kate Osgood (q.v.), 1883. Resigned from the U.S. Geological Survey, 1889, to become director of the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology, 1889–93. In Chicago, 1894–97 serving as professor of anthropic geology at the University of Chicago, and as curator of anthropology at the Field Columbian Museum. Went on the Allison V. Armour Expedition to Mexico, 1894. Published *Archaeological Studies . . . Mexico* (1895–1897). Returned to Washington, 1897. Was curator of anthropology for the U. S. National Museum of the Smithsonian, 1897–1932. Concurrently served as curator of the National Gallery of Art, 1906–20; and later as director, 1920–32. Left leg amputated, 1926. Retired to his son's home in Michigan, 1932. Died April 20, 1933, in Royal Oak, Mich.

Cosentino, Andrew J. "William Henry Holmes, Artist-Scientist, 1846–1933." Unpublished paper read before the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., January 1982.

Goetzmann, William E. *William H. Holmes Panoramic Art*. Catalogue of an exhibition at the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas, 1977.

Holmes, William Henry. *Random Records of a Lifetime, 1846–1932*. 20 vols. 16 vols. at the Archives, National Museum of American Art, Washington, D. C.; 4 vols. privately owned. All vols. on microfilm, National Museum of American Art.

Nelson, Clifford M. "William Henry Holmes: Beginning a Career in Art and Science." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C.* Vol. 50 (1980), pp. 252–78.

Stegner, Wallace. *Beyond the Hundreth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964.

Hunster, Thomas W. See Fig. 108; text, p. 172
Born in 1851, place unknown. Taught art at the M Street School, and was director of drawing for the District of Columbia Schools. For the Paris World's Fair of 1900 he designed the "Exposition Des Nègres d'Amérique," dealing with the rise and progress of the black race in America from 1865 to 1900. Died 1929, probably in Washington, D. C.

Hutchinson, Louise Daniel. *Anna J. Cooper: A Voice from the South*. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.

Jackson, Zuleima Bruff See Fig. 104; text, pp. 165, 169
Born October 9, 1843, in Washington, D. C., daughter of Bruff (q.v.). Trained by her father as a "Designing Artist." In 1861, married John Jackson, a Danish immigrant, brevet major in the U. S. Army. Died February 16, 1915, in Washington, D. C.

Johnson, (Jonathan) Eastman See Figs. 45–46; text, pp. 80, 82, 94, 96–97, 125, 126, 155
Born July 29, 1824, in Lovell, Maine. Moved with his family to Augusta, 1835. Employed in a Boston lithography shop, 1840. During the years 1842–49, was an itinerant crayon portraitist in Maine; Washington, D. C., 1844–46; and Massachusetts. In 1846 his family moved to Washington, D. C., where his father was employed by the Navy Department. In Europe, 1849–55. Studied with Leutze (q.v.) in Düsseldorf, 1849–51; at The Hague, 1851–55; and at Paris with Thomas Couture, 1855. Lived in Washington, 1855–59. Visited Wisconsin, Cincinnati, and New York. Settled in New York City, 1859. Died April 5, 1906, in New York, N. Y.

Baur, John I. H. *Eastman Johnson, 1824–1906: An American Genre Painter*. Brooklyn: Institute of Arts and Science, 1940.

Hills, Patricia. *The Genre Painting of Eastman Johnson: The Sources and Development of His Style and Themes*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1977.

Johnston, Frances Benjamin Fig. 97; text, pp. 159, 161
Born 1864 in Grafton, W. Va. Spent part of childhood in Washington, D. C. In Paris, 1883–85. Studied at the Julian Academy. Lived in

Washington, 1885–1952. Studied at the Art Students League of Washington. While employed as Washington correspondent for a New York paper, took up photography to illustrate her articles. Was photographer for the administrations of Benjamin Harrison to William H. Taft. Had her studio-home on V Street. Began architectural photography at the request of John Carrere, 1909. Received an extended Carnegie Corporation grant, 1933–41, to photograph early American architecture in the South, from Maryland to Florida. Gave her papers and negatives to the Library of Congress, 1948. Died May 1952 in Washington, D C.

Daniel, Pete, and Raymond Smock. *A Talent for Detail: The Photographs of Miss Frances Benjamin Johnston, 1889–1910*. New York: Harmony Books, 1974.

Peterson, Anne Elizabeth. "Frances Benjamin Johnston: The Early Years, 1864–1910." Master's thesis, George Washington University, 1980.

Johnston, Reuben Le Grande See Figs. 140–41; text, pp. 150, 209–10

Born July 27, 1850, in Alexandria, Va. Studied with Dr. A. J. Volck of Baltimore. In New York, 1879–80. Traveled and studied in England; France (was in Paris with William T. Mathews, another Washington artist); Spain; Tangiers, possibly with Heaton (q.v.); and Morocco. Possibly exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, 1882. In 1885, married Mary Virginia del Castillo of Cuba, a painter and student of Messer (q.v.), Andrews (q.v.), and Robert Henri. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1885–1918. One-man show at the V. G. Fischer Art Gallery, 1897. Died June 17, 1918, in Riverdale, Md.

Kaufmann, Theodore See Figs. 53–54; text, pp. 102, 105, 215

Born December 18, 1814, in Uelzen, Hanover, Germany. Studied in Hamburg and Munich under Peter Cornelius, Friedrich Kaulbach, and Wilhelm Schwar, 1833–46. Active in the 1848 Revolution. Immigrated to New York City, 1850 or 1855. Instructed Thomas Nast. Served with the Union forces during the Civil War. Active in Boston and New York, 1860s. Exhibited works in the international fairs in Vienna and Munich, 1869. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1870–80. Published *The American Drawing Book* (1871). Instructed W. H. Holmes (q.v.), 1871–72. In New York, 1880. Died after 1887, date and place unknown.

Key, John Ross See Figs. 63–64; text, pp. 105, 111, 112, 113–15

Born July 16, 1832 (or 1837), in Hagerstown, Md. Raised in Washington, D. C., by his grandfather, Francis Scott Key, author of the "Star-Spangled Banner." Employed by the U. S. Coast Survey, 1853–56, along with James McNeill Whistler, whom he introduced to etching. Possibly with the Frederick W. Lander expedition to California, 1859. During the years 1860–69, served in the Corps of Engineers of the Confederate Army; was in New York; and in Baltimore, 1867–68. Went to California with Munger (q.v.), 1869–70. During the years 1870–1908, he lived in Chicago, St. Louis, New York, Baltimore, and Newport. Visited England, France, and Germany, 1873–75. Received a medal at the Philadelphia Centennial for his painting *Entrance to the Golden Gate*, 1876. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1908–17. In Boston, 1918. Died March 24, 1920, in Baltimore, Md.

Catalogue of a Collection of Oil Paintings and Drawings by the Late John Ross Key (1837–1920). Catalogue of an exhibition at the National Gallery of Art of the U. S. National Museum, January 15–February 6, 1927.

Harrison, Alfred C. "John Ross Key." Manuscript in progress. Berkeley, Calif.

Key, John Ross. "Recollections of Whistler while in the Office of the United States Coast Survey." *Century Magazine* (April 1908).

King, Charles Bird See Pl. I, Figs. 11–13; text, pp. 39–42, 43, 44, 48, 50, 60, 62, 69, 73, 81, 94, 97, 101

Born September 26, 1785, in Newport, R. I. Studied informally with Samuel King. In New York as an apprentice to Edward Savage, 1800–1805. In London, 1806–12. Studied with Benjamin West at the Royal Academy. During the years 1812–19, was an itinerant painter from Boston to Norfolk. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1819–62. Built a home-studio on 12th Street near F. Was the instructor of Cooke (q.v.), Chapman (q.v.), Cranch (q.v.), and Way (q.v.). Painted many Indian portraits for the Bureau of Indian Affiars, almost all of which burned in the Smithsonian fire of 1865—in which Stan-

ley's (q.v.) paintings were also destroyed. Many visiting artists stayed and exhibited at King's studio and gallery. Died March 18, 1862, in Washington, D. C. Buried in Newport, R. I.

Cosentino, Andrew J. *The Paintings of Charles Bird King (1785–1862)*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1977.

Viola, Herman J. *The Indian Legacy of Charles Bird King*. Washington, D. C., and New York: Smithsonian Institution Press and Doubleday & Co., 1976.

Lanman, Charles See Fig. 56; text, pp. 105, 107–8, 110, 125, 201

Born June 14, 1819, in Monroe, Mich. Attended school in Norwich, Conn. In New York, 1835–45. Worked as a clerk for an East India firm. Studied engraving and painting with Asher Durand. Published *Letters From A Landscape Painter* (1845). During the years 1845–48, worked for various newspapers at Monroe; Cincinnati; and New York, where he was the art critic for the *Express*. He also visited Eastman (q.v.) at Fort Snelling, 1846. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1848–95. Boarded briefly with Henry Schoolcraft. Was a writer for the *National Intelligencer*, 1848. Married Adeline Dodge of Georgetown, 1849, whose sister married Ben Perley Poore. Served as Librarian for the War, 1849, and State Department, 1850. Was Daniel Webster's secretary, 1850, during which time he set up the White House Library. Served as the Librarian for the Interior Department and the House of Representatives, 1852. Compiled a catalogue of the William Wilson Corcoran art collection, 1857. Served as the American secretary to the Japanese Legation, 1871–82. Employed as the assistant assessor for the District of Columbia, 1885, and as Librarian for the Washington City Library, 1888. Died March 4, 1895, in Washington, D. C.

Houston, Joyce Anne. "Charles Lanman: A Study of His Life and Art." Term paper for Professor Barbara Novak, Columbia University, 1978.

Watkins, Mary C. "Charles Lanman, June 14, 1819–March 4, 1895: With Particular Emphasis on His Contributions as an Artist." Master's thesis, George Washington University, 1968.

Latrobe, Benjamin Henry See Fig. 6; text, pp. 21, 30–31, 34

Born May 1, 1764, in Fulneck, Yorkshire, England. Studied engineering and architecture in Germany and England. Immigrated to Norfolk, Va., 1796. In Philadelphia, 1798. Architect of the Bank of Pennsylvania and designer of the city's water supply system. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1802–17. Designed structures for the Navy Yard. Served as surveyor of public buildings, 1803–12, 1815–17; contributed much to the designs of the Capitol and the White House. In Pittsburgh, 1813–15. In New Orleans, 1818–20. Died September 3, 1820, in New Orleans, La.

Latrobe, Benjamin Henry. *The Journal of Latrobe*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1971.

Laurence, P. E. See Fig. 106; text, p. 172

Born before 1890, date and place unknown. Lived in Washington, D.C., 1890–1937. Active as a painter, 1890–1915. Worked as a government clerk and helper at the Navy Yard, 1905–37. Wife named Annette. Died after 1937, probably in Washington, D. C.

Leisenring, Mathilde Mueden See Fig. 128; text, pp. 181, 197

Born c. 1870 in Washington, D. C. Studied at the Art Students League of Washington and of New York. In Paris, 1897–99. Studied at the Julian Academy under Jean P. Laurens, Benjamin Constant, and Jean J. Henner. Exhibited at the Salon. Taught at the Corcoran School of Art, 1902–40. Married Luther Morris Leisenring of Washington, c. 1908, an architect, photographer, and artist. Died 1949 in Washington, D. C.

Mathilde Mueden Leisenring. Catalogue of a memorial exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., March 3–March 26, 1950.

Leutze, Emanuel Gottlieb See Fig. 40; text, pp. 73, 80, 81, 82, 86, 88–89, 97, 125, 126

Born May 24, 1816, in Schwäbisch-Gmünd, Germany. Immigrated to Philadelphia, 1825. Studied with John Rubens Smith. In Washington, D. C., as an itinerant portraitist, 1837. In Dusseldorf, 1840–51. Studied at the Academy with Wilhelm Schadow and Karl Lessing, 1841–43. Visited Italy, 1843–45. In the U. S., 1851–52. Petitioned Congress to paint two murals. Exhib-

ited *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (the second version) in the Rotunda of the Capitol, 1852. In Düsseldorf, 1852–58. Divided his time between New York and Washington, 1859–68. Painted *Westward Ho!*, a giant mural for the west stairwell of the House wing in the Capitol, 1861–62. In Düsseldorf, 1864. Died July 18, 1868, in Washington, D. C.

Groseclose, Barbara S. *Emanuel Leutze, 1816–1868: Freedom is the Only King*. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975.

Stehle, Raymond Louis. "'Westward Ho!': The History of Leutze's Fresco in the Capitol." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C.*, Vols. 60–62 (1963), pp. 306–22.

MacDonald, Charles Harold L. See Fig. 84; text, pp. 146, 165
Born May 13, 1861, in Manitowoc, Wisc. Studied in Paris with Gustave Boulanger and Jules Lefebvre. Lived in Washington, D.C., 1890–1923. Left arm amputated as a result of a fall on ice, c.1914. Became derelict. Lived at the Gospel Mission House. Entered St. Elizabeth's Hospital, c. 1922. Died January 31, 1923, in Washington, D.C. (at St. Elizabeth's).

Machen, William Henry See Fig. 102; text, pp. 165, 168
Born February 10, 1832, in Arnhem, Holland. Immigrated with his family to Cleveland, 1847, then to Toledo, 1848. Painted *Toledo in 1852*, 1852. Wrote "The Nature of Birds," 1870. Lived in Detroit, 1881–94. Taught art at Detroit College and at the Sacred Heart Convent, Grosse Point, Mich. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1894–1911; came with his son who was employed by the Post Office. Painted and gave to President Grover Cleveland, 1897, a picture of a brace of blue bills. Painted fish species for the U. S. Fish Commission, 1898. Died June 19, 1911, in Washington, D. C.

Machen, Edwin A., and Randolph C. Downes. "William Henry Machen: Pioneer Local Colorist of Northwestern Ohio." *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* 20 (April 1948): 58–81.

Machen, William Henry. "Inventory of Oil Paintings. From 1852–19–." Manuscript. Roll 2674, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C.

MacLeod, William Douglas See Fig. 55; text, pp. 78, 105, 107, 125
Born 1811 in Alexandria, Va. (then part of the District of Columbia). In New York. Had a studio at the New York University Building. Returned to Washington, D. C., 1856. Had an art school and studio at 12th and F streets. Served as curator of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1873–88. Died 1892 in Washington, D. C.

Von Salzen, Candace Nielsen. "William Douglas MacLeod: His Life, Curatorship and Art." Master's thesis, George Washington University, 1981.

Mahoney, Felix E. See Fig. 111; text, p. 179
Born 1867 in New York, N. Y. Came to Washington, D. C., as a boy. Attended Gonzaga College. Studied at the Corcoran School of Art; the New York School of Fine and Applied Art; and with Théophile Steinlen and at the Grand Academy Chaumiere in Paris. Cartoonist for the *Star*, 1898–?, the *Times*, and the Baltimore *American*. Established and ran the National School of Fine and Applied Arts, 1916–39. Painted a frieze for the Washington Canoe Club. Was an amateur opera singer. Died September 27, 1939, in Washington, D.C.

Mann, Parker See Fig. 74; text, pp. 133, 220
Born July 6, 1852, in Rochester, N. Y. Attended the University of Rochester. Studied at the Ecole in Paris with Alexander Cabanel, 1874. Married Julia Mulany of New York City, 1884. In Nantucket, 1884–85. In London, 1886. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1887–99. In New York, 1900–1912. Married Mary Lee Miller of Milwaukee, 1911. Settled in Princeton, N. J., 1913. Died December 14 or 15, 1918, in Princeton, N. J.

Many, Alexis B. See Fig. 160; text, p. 229
Born August 10, 1879, in Indianapolis, Ind. Studied in New York. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1900–1937. Taught art at the McKinley Technical High School, 1901–36. Died December 27, 1937, in Washington, D. C.

Messer, Edmund Clarence See Figs. 72, 81, 138; text, pp. 131, 142, 157, 201
Born February 18, 1842, in Skowhegan, Maine. Moved with his family to Minnesota, 1852. Served in the Civil War, 1862. Moved with his family to Washington, D. C., c. 1863, where he

studied briefly with an unknown artist. During the years 1863–70, studied at the National Academy of Design; the Pennsylvania Academy; the Academy of Design in Chicago; and in Paris with Raphaël Collin and Gustave Courtois. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1870–1918. Shared a studio with Miller (q.v.), c. 1870. Was a founder-member of the Washington Art Club, 1876, and an instructor in the club's art school, 1879–85. Had a studio in Vernon Row, 1880s. Visited Europe, 1885. Was a founder-instructor of the Art Students League of Washington, 1886–1902. Served as principal of the Corcoran School of Art, 1902–18. Retired to his son's home in Wisconsin. Died February 9, 1919, in Menomonie, Wisc.

Joint Memorial Exhibition of Paintings by the Late Edmund C. Messer and Richard N. Brooke. Catalogue of an exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, November 6–21, 1920.

Marsh, Allan Thomas. "Washington's First Art Academy: The Corcoran School of Art, 1875–1925." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1983.

Miller, Eleazer Hutchinson See Fig. 126; text, pp. 62, 131, 195, 197
Born February 28, 1831, in Shepherdstown, W. Va. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1848–1921. Worked for the *National Intelligencer*. Studied with Gibson (q.v.) and Healy (q.v.). Married Mary Farnham, 1859. Illustrated *Tam O'Shanter* and Mrs. Springer's *Songs of the Sea*. Visited Europe to study the old masters, 1875. Took up etching in the 1880s; joined and exhibited with the New York Etching Club. Was a founder of the Washington Art Club and the Society of Washington Artists. Died April 4, 1921, in Washington, D. C.

Trotter, Jessie. "E. Hutchinson Miller (1831–1921) the Artist." *Jefferson County [W. Va.] Historical Society Magazine* 5 (1939): 38–40.

Moore, Benson Bond See Fig. 161; text, p. 229
Born August 13, 1882, in Washington, D. C. Learned the conservation of paintings from his father. Studied at the Corcoran School of Art with Messer (q.v.) and Brooke (q.v.), and also with Weyl (q.v.). Studied drawing at the Linthicum Institute under Ballenger. Illustrated with etchings and engravings many books, and articles for the *Star*. Taught etching at the Hill School of Art. Settled in Florida, 1942. Died 1974 in Stuart, Florida.

Morrell, Imogene Robinson See Fig. 154; text, pp. 131, 223
Born in Attleboro, Mass., date unknown. At age sixteen studied art in Newark, N. J., then in New York. Taught art at Charlestown and Auburndale, Mass. Went to Düsseldorf, 1856. Studied with Wilhelm Camphausen. In Paris, 1864–74. Studied with Louis Français and Thomas Couture. Married Abram Morrell, 1869. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1877–1908. Established the National Academy of Fine Arts, 1879, which was still in operation in 1888. Died 1908 in Washington, D. C.

Morse, Edward Lind See Fig. 137; text, pp. 133, 204, 208
Born March 29, 1857, in Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Son of S. F. B. Morse. Studied in Germany with Paul Thumann, Karl Gussow, and Max Thedy. In Paris, 1893. Studied at the Julian Academy with Adolphe Bouguereau and Gabriel Ferrier. Exhibited at the Salon. In Lakewood, N. J., 1894–96; painted Alexander Wyant's portrait. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1896–1906. Commissioned Hornblower and Marshall to build his "Studio House" at 2133 R Street, 1902. Taught at the Art Students League of Washington. Lived in Massachusetts, 1906–23. Died 1923 in Pittsfield, Mass.

Moser, James Henry See Figs. 149–51; text, pp. 132, 138, 139, 141, 146, 157, 180, 181, 201, 204, 218, 219–21
Born January 1, 1854, in Whitby, Ontario, Canada. His father was an architect. Moved with the family to Columbus, Ohio, 1864. Studied and associated with artists John H. Witt, Frederick S. Church, Frank Miller, and Professor Schroeder. Studied at the Art Students League of New York with Charles H. Davis. In Toledo, Ohio, 1875–77, and visited, exhibited, and sold works in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Moved with his family to Galveston, then Vicksburg, 1877–79, and then to Atlanta, 1879–86. Painted a series of watercolors for the Great Southern Railroad of Alabama, 1879. Along with Frederick S. Church, illustrated the first edition of Joel Chandler Harris' *Uncle Remus*

(1881). Worked as a free-lance illustrator for *Harper's, Century, Leslie's,* and the *Atlantic Monthly* magazines. Married Martha Scoville of Cornwall, Conn., 1883. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1887–1913. His father worked for the Office of the Supervising Architect. Worked as an illustrator for the Washington *Times* and *Harper's*. The U. S. National Museum purchased his two large paintings of the slaughter of buffalo, 1888. Instructed Mrs. Benjamin Harrison in watercolors, 1890. Painted murals for the Bolkenhayn Hotel, New York, 1899. Visited Dresden, Paris, and Amsterdam for three months, 1896. During the years 1897–1913, was the art critic and illustrator for the Washington *Times* and later the *Post* and *Herald*. Taught watercolor painting at the Corcoran School of Art, 1899–1913, and at Columbian (George Washington) University. His oil painting *Mt. McIntyre* was purchased for the old National Gallery of Art by William T. Evans, 1908. Suffered a stroke, 1911. Died November 10, 1913, in Washington, D. C.

Breen, Rosemary A. "The Landscapes of James Henry Moser." Master's thesis, George Washington University, 1968.

Exhibition of Paintings by James Henry Moser. Catalogue of an exhibition at the George Washington University Library, Washington, D. C., January 4–5, 1968.

Fetherolf, Grace Moser. *James Henry Moser: His Brush and His Pen*. Phoenix, Arizona: W. A. Krueger Co., 1982.

Muller, Frank Christian See Fig. 155; text, p. 223

Born 1860 in Denmark. Immigrated to Baltimore, Md., 1887. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1890–1938. Worked for the Bureau of Entymology, Department of Agriculture, making enlarged paintings of insects. Later worked for the Navy Department painting pictures of new ships and of naval battles for Naval Archives. Retired, 1918. Died March 14, 1938, in Washington, D. C.

Munger, Gilbert Davis See Figs. 61–62; text, pp. 65, 105, 111, 112–13, 207

Born April 14, 1836 (or 1837), in Madison, Conn. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1849 (or 1851)–1861. Learned engraving possibly from Dougal (q.v.), with whom he lived for a time. Worked as an engraver for the Smithsonian. Initiated the Bureau of Lithography for the U. S. Government. Traveled the Indian Ocean with the Louis Agassiz expedition, 1861–63. Served as an engineer in the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War, 1863–65. In New York, 1866; painted Niagara Falls for the Prussian Government (for $5,000). During the years 1867–70, was in St. Paul; in the Rocky Mountains with the Clarence King expedition, 1869; and in California with Key (q.v.), 1869–70. In New York, Duluth, and San Francisco, 1871–75. In Europe, 1876–93. In England, 1876–85. Exhibited at the Royal Academy often. In Barbizon, France, 1885–93. Honored by many foreign states. Lived in New York, 1893–1901. Returned to Washington, 1901. Died January 27, 1903, in Washington, D. C.

Memoir, Gilbert Munger: Landscape Artist, 1836–1903. New York: De Vinne Press, 1904.

Sweeney, J. Gray. *American Painting at the Tweed Museum of Art and Glensheen: The University of Minnesota, Duluth*. Duluth: University of Minnesota, 1982.

Neuville, Baroness Hyde de See Fig. 7; text, p. 31

Born c. 1779 in France. Immigrated to the U. S. with her exiled husband, 1807. Resided in New York City and New Brunswick, N. J., 1807–14. Traveled as far west as Tennessee. Returned to France, 1814. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1816–22, where her husband was the French minister. Returned to France, 1822. Died 1849 in France.

Andrews, Wayne. "The Baroness Was Never Bored: The Baroness Hyde de Neuville's Sketches of American Life, 1807–1822." *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 38 (April 1954): 105–17.

Nichols, (Henry) Hobart See Fig. 159; text, pp. 146, 165, 229

Born May 1, 1869, in Washington, D. C. Attended Shortledge College in Pennsylvania. Studied with Helmick (q.v.) and with Messer (q.v.) at the Art Students League of Washington. Was an illustrator with the U. S. Geological Survey and with the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1889–95. Studied at the Froebel Institute in Germany, and with Caludio Castelucho at the Julian Academy in Paris. Served as assistant

to the director, U. S. Art Commission, Paris World's Fair, 1900. Lived in New York, 1908–62. Exhibited frequently in Washington. Served as president of the National Academy of Design, 1939–49, and as director of the Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation, 1939–59. Died August 13, 1962, in Bronxville, N. Y.

Nourse, Rebecca Morris See Fig. 5; text, p. 30
Born before 1800, probably in Philadelphia, Pa. Daughter of Anthony Morris, a Quaker. Resided in Georgetown, D. C., at the "Highlands," now part of the Friends School. Married Major Charles Joseph Nourse. After the death of her husband, painted china to support her family. Died after 1827, probably in Georgetown, D. C.

Peter, Grace Dunlop. "Unpublished Letters of Dolly Madison to Anthony Morris Relating to the Nourse Family of the Highlands." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C.* Vols. 44–45 (1944), pp. 215–39.

Nye, Edgar Hewitt See Fig. 158; text, p. 229
Born April 30, 1879, in Richmond, Va. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1892–1905. Studied at the Corcoran School of Art, 1892–1900. Married Beatrice (?) in Baltimore, 1904. In England, 1905–14. Studied at Oxford, 1905–7; in London, 1907–9; and with John Noble Barlow at St. Ives and Newlin, 1910–14. In France, 1914–20. Lived in Washington, 1921–43. Exhibited with the "X" painters at the Corcoran Gallery of Art. Died November 30, 1943, in Washington, D. C.

Edgar Nye. Catalogue of an exhibition at the Adams Davidson Galleries, Inc., Washington, D. C., May 3–June 23, 1979.

Oertel, Johannes Adam Simon See Figs. 37–39; text, pp. 82, 83–84, 86, 97
Born November 3, 1823, in Fürth, Bavaria, Germany. Studied engraving in Munich with J. M. Enzing-Müller, and also studied the works of Peter Cornelius, Rudolf Schwanthaler, and Friedrich Kaulbach. Immigrated to Newark, N. J., 1848. Engraved banknotes. Taught at a school for girls. Married Julia Adelaide Torrey, 1851. In New York, 1855. In Washington, D. C., 1857–58; at the invitation of Captain Montgomery C. Meigs, to work on decorations for the House Chamber at the Capitol. In New York, 1858–60. In Westerly, R. I., 1861–67. Served briefly with the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War, 1862. Painted *Rock of Ages*, 1867. Returned to New York, 1868. In Lenoir, N. C., 1869–76. Ordained an Episcopalian priest, 1871. In New Jersey, New York, Lenoir, N.C., and Florida, 1876–82. In Washington, D. C., and Vienna, Va., 1883–86. Elected assistant rector of the Church of the Incarnation, Washington, 1885 (now the Mt. Zion Pentacostal Church). Had a studio in the Corcoran Building. In Sewanee, Tenn., and St. Louis, 1886–91. Lived in Washington, and also in nearby Bel Air, Md., and Vienna, Va., 1891–1909. Painted a series of four large pictures on Christian doctrine, 1895–1901. Died December 9, 1909, in Vienna, Va.

Brown, Nancy. "Johannes A. S. Oertel's Works in Washington, D.C." Term paper for Professor Francis Grubar, George Washington University.

"In the Most Holy Name, Amen. Journal of Johannes A. Oertel, February 25, 1883–September 14, 1898." Manuscript, unlocated.

Oertel, J. F. *A Vision Realized: A Life Story of Rev. J. A. Oertel, D. D., Artist, Priest, Missionary.* Milwaukee: Young Churchman Co., 1917.

Paris, Walter See Cover, Fig. 129; text, pp. 113, 197, 199–200, 218
Born February 28, 1842, in London, England. Apprenticed to the architect Benjamin Ferrey, 1858. Student at the Royal Academy, 1859–62. Became an associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1862. Worked in Bombay, India, as architect for the British Crown, 1863–70. Came to the U.S., 1872. In Colorado, 1874–75; briefly joined the Ferdinand Hayden Survey; met Holmes (q.v.). Settled temporarily in Colorado Springs. In Washington, D. C., 1875. In London, 1876. In New York, 1877–82. Was a founder-member of the Tile Club, which was organized in his studio, 1877. Visited Colorado Springs, 1878. Sold numerous watercolors to the Kensington Museum, London. Took several trips to London, 1882. In Washington, D. C., 1883–86. Made a lifetime member of the Georgetown Orchestra, as violinist. In India, 1886–90, as architect for the Crown. Trip to London, 1887. Lived in Washington, 1890–1906. Built a house and studio, never occupied. Naturalized, 1894. Died November 26, 1906, in Washington, D. C.

"The Last Will and Testament of Walter Paris." Washington, D. C., May 7, 1906. Typescript copy, Paris Vertical File, Library, National Museum of American Art, Washington, D. C.

"Paris, Walter." *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. 7, p. 203.

Young, Mahonri Sharp. "The Tile Club Revisited." *American Art Journal* 2 (Fall 1970): 81–91.

Pascal, Paul B. See Fig. 121; text, p. 187
Born April 1, 1832, in Toulouse, France. Studied at the Ecole. Married the daughter of an academician François-Louis Français. Exhibited at the Salon, 1876–80. Immigrated to Washington, D. C., 1898. Taught painting privately. Suffered paralysis. Poverty required that his children be placed in homes. Died 1905 in Washington, D.C. [His daughter, Jeanne, studied at the Corcoran School of Art with Messer (q.v.), and like her father became a painter of Oriental scenes.]

Polk, Charles Peale See Fig. 2; text, pp. 21, 24, 26
Born March 17, 1767, in Annapolis, Md. Moved with his family to Charles Town, Md., 1775. His mother died in 1773 and his father in 1777. Adopted by his uncle Charles Willson Peale, 1776. Lived in Philadelphia, 1776–91; studied painting with his uncle. In Baltimore, 1791–96. Itinerant painter, 1796–1801. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1802–19. Worked as a clerk for the Treasury Department, 1802–19. Was a founder of the First Baptist Church, 1802. Retired to Richmond County, Va., 1820. Died May 6, 1822, in Richmond County, Va.

Simmons, Linda Crocker. *Charles Peale Polk, 1767–1822: A Limner and His Likenesses*. Washington, D. C.: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1981.

Powell, Lucien Whiting See Figs. 152–53; text, pp. 138, 221
Born December 13, 1846, at "Levinworth Manor," near Upperville, Va. Served with the Confederate Army, 1863–65. Studied with Thomas Moran at the Pennsylvania Academy of The Fine Arts. In Europe, 1876. Studied with Fitz at the London School of Art, and studied closely the works of Joseph M. W. Turner. Visited Rome, Venice, and Paris. Married Nan Fitzhugh, 1880. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1885–1930. Patronized by Senator and Mrs. John B. Henderson, who established a studio for him in their "Castle." Visited Europe. Was the first artist to hold an exhibition on an ocean liner, 1891. Accompanied a geological survey party to the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, 1901. Visited the Holy Land, Egypt, Italy, 1910. Died September 27, 1930, in Washington, D. C. [J. Edgar Hoover owned more than one dozen of Powell's works.]

"Powell, Lucien Whiting." *Dictionary of American Biography*. Vol. 8, p. 149.

Rolle, August H. O. See Fig. 157; text, p. 229
Born March 3, 1875, in Sibley County, Minn. Attended Red Wing Seminary. Taught for a time, then entered the lumber business. Served in the military during the Spanish-American War. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1900–41. Was a forestry expert with the Bureau of the Census, 1900–41. Studied with Messer (q.v.), Brooke (q.v.), and Moser (q.v.) at the Corcoran School of Art, 1905–15. Was a founder-member of the Landscape Club of Washington, D. C., 1913. Died October 9, 1941, in Washington, D. C.

Sands, Anna M. See Fig. 114; text, p. 181
Born February, 1860 in Maryland. Active in Washington D. C., from 1891 to 1927. Studied at the Art Students League of Washington. Possibly associated with the circle of Barney (q.v.). Served on the Board of Control of the Art Students League. Died after 1927, probably in Washington, D. C.

Sawyer, Wells Moses See Fig. 162; text, p. 229
Born January 31, 1863, in Keokuk, Iowa. Studied law, 1879–82. Lived in Chicago, 1882–90. Studied art with John O. Anderson, 1882–85, and with John Vanderpoel at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1885–90. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1890–1907. Studied at the Corcoran School of Art; 1891–92. Studied with Helmick (q.v.) at the Art Students League of Washington, 1893–97. Married Kathleen Alton Bailey of Washington, 1896. Studied in Paris, 1899–1900. Worked as an illustrator for the U. S. Geological Survey and the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1891–97. Served as artist on the Pepper-Hearst expedition to the Florida Keys, 1896–97. Was a designer-inspector of furnishings for federal buildings for the Office of the Secretary of the

Treasury, 1897–1907. Lived in New York, 1907–26. Was head of the advertising department, National City Bank. Lived in Spain, 1926–34, and in Mexico, 1934–44. Settled in Florida, 1944. Died March 21, 1960, in Sarasota, Fla.

Paintings Made in Spain . . . The Work of Wells Moser Sawyer. Catalogue of an exhibition at the National Gallery of Art of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., October 24–November 30, 1931.

Scurlock, Addison N. See Fig. 109; text, pp. 159, 172, 177, 178
Born June 19, 1883, in Fayetteville, N. C. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1900–1964. Apprentice with the Rice Studio of photography, 1900–1914. Free-lance photographer, 1904. Won a gold medal for photography at the Jamestown Exposition, 1907. Opened the Scurlock Studio of photography, 1911. Was official photographer for Howard University, c. 1910–64. His photographs were published widely, and were used in schools for the study of black history. Died 1964 in Washington, D. C.

The Historic Photographs of Addison N. Scurlock. Catalogue of an exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., June 19–August 29, 1976.

Shindler, Antonion Zeno See Fig. 52; text, p. 102
Born c. 1813 (or 1823) in Bulgaria. Studied art in Paris. Immigrated to the U. S. with the English ethnologist William Blackmore and his expeditionary party, c. 1845. Was in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Washington during the 1860s. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1876–99. Worked as an artist for the Smithsonian. Died August 8, 1899, in Washington, D. C.

Fleming, Paula Richardson. *Photographic Portraits of North American Indians in the Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution*. Forthcoming reprint, with illustrations, of A. Zeno Shindler's catalogue listing of photographs of North American Indians, originally published by the Smithsonian Institution (Miscellaneous Collections, no. 216) in Washington, D. C., 1867.

Siebert, Edward Selmar See Fig. 95; text, pp. 158, 159
Born July 1, 1857, in Washington, D. C. Son of Selmar Siebert, a German engraver who immigrated to the U. S. in 1840 or 1843, and settled in Washington. Studied with Albert Bauer in Weimar, Germany, c. 1871–76. In Washington, 1876–79. In Germany, c. 1879–84. Studied with Carl H. Hoff in Karlsruhe, and Wilhelm von Diez in Munich. Lived in New York, 1884–95. Lived in New York and Washington, 1895–1932. Moved to Rochester, N. Y., 1932. Died January 31, 1944, in Rochester, N. Y.

Silva, William Posey See Fig. 163; text, p. 229
Born October 23, 1859, in Savannah, Ga. Attended the Chatham Academy. Studied engineering at the University of Virginia. During the years c. 1877–1907, was a partner in the firm of Silva and Abbott, hardware and china merchants. In Chattanooga, Tenn. In Europe, 1907–9. Studied with Jean P. Laurens and Henri P. Royer at the Julian Academy in Paris; and with Chauncey Ryder at Etaples. Exhibited at the Salon d'Automne, 1908. Visited Italy and Spain. Studied with Arthur Dow in New York, 1910. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1911–14. Moved to Carmel, Calif., 1914. Died February 10, 1948, in Carmel.

Sketches by William P. Silva. Catalogue of an exhibition at the Veerhoff Galleries, Washington, D. C., November 20–December 2, 1911.

Simpson, James Alexander See Figs. 23–25; text, pp. 56, 57–58, 60, 62
Born 1805 in Georgetown, D. C. During the years 1830–65, served as a part-time teacher of drawing and painting at Georgetown College. Married Julia Franzoni, daughter of the sculptor Carlo Franzoni (or of Giuseppe Franzoni); later married Sarah T. Gibson, widow of the artist Gibson (q.v.). Exhibited at the Washington Metropolitan Mechanics Institute, 1853. Moved to Baltimore, 1865. Died May 1, 1880, in Baltimore, Md.

Haley, Kenneth. "James A. Simpson, Portrait Painter." *Today*, May 1977, pp. 14–15. Publication of Georgetown University.

Simpson, William H. See Fig. 69; text, p. 122
Born 1818 in Buffalo, N. Y. Apprentice to Matthew Wilson, ANA, 1854–56. Lived in Boston, 1856–72. Painted in Washington, D. C., 1867. His romantic study of the head of a young

black, *The Negro*, engraved by W. Hulland. Died 1872 in Boston, Mass.

Brown, William Wells. *The Rising Sun: Or, the Antecedents and Advancement of the Colored Race*. Boston: A. G. Brown and Co., 1876.

Smith, F. Carl See Fig. 120; text, p. 185
Born September 7, 1868, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Son of the artist F. Hopkinson Smith. In Paris, 1897–99. Studied with Adolphe Bouguereau, Gabriel Ferrier, and Benjamin Constant. Exhibited at the Salon. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1900–1917. Moved to Pasadena, Calif., 1917. Died in 1950, probably in Pasadena.

Snyder, Bladen Tasker See Figs. 138–39; text, pp. 204, 208
Born 1864 in Washington, D.C. Studied art in Paris, and lived there for a time with Messer (q.v.), 1884–85. In Paris, 1897. Studied at the Julian Academy with Jules Lefebvre and Gustave Boulanger. Exhibited at the Salon. Painted in Europe and North Africa. Returned to Washington. Lived in the Octagon House, 1907–9. Became derelict. Died 1923 in Washington, D. C.

Sohon, Gustavus See Fig. 51; text, p. 102
Born December 10, 1825, in Tilsit, Prussia, Germany. Immigrated to Brooklyn, 1842. Worked as a bookbinder. Served in the U. S. Army, 1852–57, as artist on western exploring expeditions, and on the Northern Pacific Railroad Survey, 1853. Was a guide in the far northwest, 1858–62. In Washington, D. C., 1862–63 to illustrate the Pacific Railroad and Mullan Road expedition reports. In San Francisco as photographer, 1863–65. Settled in Washington, 1866. Operated a show business for the remainder of his life. Died September 3, 1903, in Washington, D. C.

Ewers, John Canfield. *Gustavus Sohon's Portraits of Flathead and Pend d'Oreille Indians, 1854*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications, vol. 110, no. 7. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1948.

Spear, Arthur Prince See Fig. 115; text, p. 181, 185
Born September 23, 1879, in Washington, D. C. His father, General Ellis Spear, was commissioner of patents. Attended George Washington University. Studied at the Art Students League of Washington; won the prize of one-year study at the League in New York. In New York, 1899–1902. Studied with Frederick Bridgman, Howard C. Christie, Arthur Dow, and others. In Paris, 1902–4. Studied with Jean P. Laurens at the Julian Academy. Shared quarters with Warner (q.v.). Visited Siena, 1904. Married Grace Chapman of Portland, Maine, 1905. In Paris, 1905–7. Lived in Boston, 1907–59. Visited and exhibited often in Washington. Stopped painting, 1944. Died July 6, 1959, in Boston, Mass.

Spear, Arthur P., Jr. *Arthur Spear, 1879–1959*. Warren, Maine and Boston: Warren Historical Society and St. Botolph Club, 1981.

Stanley, John Mix See Figs. 48–49; text, pp. 70, 78, 92, 97–98, 100–101, 102, 117
Born January 17, 1814, in Canandaigua, N. Y. During the years 1834–40 was in Detroit; Fort Snelling, where he began painting Indians; Galena, Ill; and Chicago. Was in New York, Troy, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, 1840–42. From 1845–50, in Cincinnati, where he exhibited 83 Indian paintings; made a trip from Santa Fe to California with Colonel S. W. Kearny; went to Oregon, then to Hawaii, where he painted portraits of King Kamehameha III and his Queen. Toured the eastern cities with his Indian Gallery of 152 paintings, 1850–52. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1852–63. Boarded with King (q.v.), and shared a studio with Clements (q.v.) at 278½ Pennslyvania Avenue. Deposited his Indian Gallery with the Smithsonian, 1852. Joined the Northern Railroad Survey, 1853, and did illustrations for published volumes II and XII. Married Alice C. English of Washington, 1854. In Buffalo, 1863; painted the *Trial of Red Jacket*. In Detroit, 1864. The Smithsonian fire of 1865 destroyed all but 5 of his paintings. In Europe to promote chromolithographs of his paintings, 1868. Died April 10, 1872,in Detroit, Mich. [Stanley's daughter-in-law, Alice C. Stanley, and his granddaughter, Alice Stanley (Mrs. Dean Acheson), were both artists, intimately connected with the Capital as well. In 1944, an exhibition of the works of all three Stanleys was held at the U. S. National Museum of the Smithsonian.]

Kinietz, W. Vernon. *John Mix Stanley and His Indian Paintings.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1942.
Schimmel, Julie. "John Mix Stanley and Imagery of the West in Nineteenth-Century American Art." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1983.

Stansbury, Arthur J. See Fig. 20; text, pp. 50, 52
Born 1781 in New York, N. Y. His father, Joseph, was the intermediary between Benedict Arnold and the British. Licensed as a preacher, 1810. Illustrated *The Grammar of Botany*, 1822. Wrote and illustrated the *Elementary Catechism on the Constitution of the United States* (n.d.). In New York and Washington, D. C., 1823–28. Lived in Washington, 1829–48. Was an artist-reporter for the *National Intelligencer*. Died after 1848, probably in Washington, D. C. [His son, Howard, was a captain in the Topographical Engineers. He surveyed the Great Salt Lake region, and wrote a seminal report, 1852. Another son, Charles Frederick, was an assistant to Joseph Henry at the College of New Jersey (Princeton). He later came to Washington to work with the Patent Office, and was a founder of the Washington Metropolitan Mechanics Institute. He also was in charge of the American exhibition at the Crystal Palace, London, 1851, and was active in the Washington Art Association.]

Tolman, Ruel Pardee See Fig. 127; text, pp. 195, 197
Born March 26, 1878, in Brookfield, Vt. In California 1897–1902. Studied at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art; at the Los Angeles School of Art and Design; and at the University of California, Berkeley, 1902. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1902–54. Studied at the Corcoran School of Art, 1902–5; and at the National Academy of Design, and Art Students League in New York, 1906. Taught drawing at the Corcoran School of Art, 1906–18. Worked in the Graphic Arts Division of the National Museum, and eventually became curator, 1912–46. Served as acting director of the National Collection of Fine Arts, 1936–46, then director, 1946–48. Published *The Life and Work of Edward Greene Malbone*, 1952, as well as many articles on art. Died August 24, 1954, in Washington, D. C.

Uhl, S. Jerome See Fig. 125; text, p. 195
Born 1842 in Millersburg, Ohio. In Paris, 1885. Studied with Emile Carolus-Duran, Puvis de Chavannes, and Auguste Emile. Exhibited at the Salon. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1888–1900. Worked in New York, 1898–1900. In Philadelphia, 1907. Moved to Ohio. Died April 12, 1916, in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Ulke, Henry See Figs. 67–68, text, pp. 117, 122
Born January 29, 1821, in Frankenstein, Germany. Studied art at Breslau; and from 1842–44 with Wilhelm Wach in Berlin. Studied with Peter Cornelius, whom he assisted with frescoes for the Alte Museum in Berlin, 1846. Joined the Revolutionary uprising of 1848, was wounded, captured, and imprisoned. Immigrated to New York, 1852. Designed banknotes. Did illustrations for *Harper's* and *Leslie's* weeklies. In Philadelphia, 1853–60. Elected to various scientific societies. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1860–1910. Opened a photography and portrait studio. Married Veronica Schultze, 1865. Visited Europe. Studied art and photography at Weimer, 1868–70. Was a member of the German Concord Club in Washington. Wrote articles on beetles (had an outstanding collection of local species) and coleoptera, published by the Smithsonian. Died February 17, 1910, in Washington, D. C.

Pierce, Nancy. "Henry Ulke." Manuscript in progress. Washington, D. C.
Ulke, Titus. "Life and Works of the Portrait-Painter, Henry Ulke (1821–1910)." Unpublished paper, Ulke Vertical File, Library, National Museum of American Art, Washington, D. C., n.d.

Walker, Annie E. A. See Fig. 107; text, p. 172
Born 1855 in Alabama. Studied art at Cooper Union in New York. In Paris, 1895–96. Studied at the Julian Academy. Exhibited at the Salon. In Washington, 1901–2. Died 1929, date and place unknown.

Warner, Everett Longley See Fig. 164; text, pp. 137, 138, 185, 229, 230
Born July 16, 1877, in Vinton, Iowa. Lived in Washington, D. C., c. 1885–1900. Attended school. Was employed as art critic for the *Star*, 1894–98. Studied at the Corcoran School of Art,

1897–98, and at the Art Students League of Washington. In New York, 1898–1900. Studied at the Art Students League. In Paris, 1900–1903. Studied at the Julian Academy. During the years 1903–24, he lived in New York; Paris, 1905–7; and Old Lyme, Conn. Was a writer-illustrator for *Scribner's* and *Century* magazines, 1909 and after. During World War I was in the camouflage division, U. S. Navy, 1917–19. Married Katherine Jordan Thomas of Cincinnati, 1923. Lived in Pittsburgh, 1924–42. Was associate professor of painting and design at the Carnegie Institute of Technology. Published the *Etcher's Manual*, 1931. Lived in Westmoreland, N. H., 1942–63. Served with the U. S. Navy, in camouflage, during World War II, 1942–45. Wrote articles on highway markings. Was frequently in Washington; kept in touch with Bittinger (q.v.); painted a mural for the Cosmos Club, 1952. Died October 20, 1963, in Bellows Falls, Vt.

"Warner, Everett Longley." *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Vol. 50, pp. 72–73.

Washington, William Dickinson See Figs. 34–36; text, pp. 78, 80–82, 97, 125, 126, 157
Born October 7, 1832 (or 1833), in Clarke County, Va. Moved with his family to Washington, D. C., 1834; remained until 1861. His father, Perrin, was employed by the Post Office until his death, 1857. Was a draftsman for the Patent Office. Studied painting with Leutze (q.v.) in Washington, 1851–52. Went to Düsseldorf to continue studies with Leutze, 1853–56. Returned to Washington, 1856–61. In Richmond during the Civil War, 1861–65. Served as a civilian draftsman with the Virginia army. Painted *The Burial of Latané*, 1864. In England, 1865–66. In New York, 1866–68. In Lexington, Va., 1869. Appointed professor of fine arts at Virginia Military Institute, July, 1869. Died December 1, 1870, in Lexington, Va.

Couper, Colonel William. *One Hundred Years at V. M. I.* Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1939.
Ott, Ethelbert Nelson. "William D. Washington (1833–1870): Artist of the South." Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1968.
Salmon, Emily J. "*The Burial of Latané*: Symbol of a Lost Cause." *Virginia Cavalcade* 28 (Winter 1979): 118–29.

Way, Andrew John Henry See Fig. 44; text, p. 94
Born April 27, 1826, in Washington, D. C. Probably studied with King (q.v.), then with John Peter or Godfrey Frankenstein in Cincinnati, and Alfred J. Miller in Baltimore. In Europe, 1850–54. Studied with Martin Drölling in Paris, and at the Academy in Florence. Lived in Baltimore, 1854–88. On Leutze's (q.v.) advice, and perhaps King's, began painting still lifes. Died February 7, 1888, in Baltimore, Md.

Weyl, Max See Pl. VI, Figs. 130–32; text, pp. 134, 157, 201, 204
Born December 1, 1837, in Mühlen-am-Neckar, Germany. Immigrated with his family to Williamsport, Pa., 1853, where he was an itinerant watch and clock repairer. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1861–1914. Opened a jewelry shop at 3rd Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, 1862. Began to paint. Sold first painting to Samuel H. Kauffmann, publisher of the *Star*, 1870. Devoted full-time to painting, 1878. First exhibition and sale of landscapes, 1879. In Europe, 1879–80. Visited galleries, studied art in Paris, Munich, Vienna, and Venice. Had a studio with Brooke (q.v.) in Vernon Row at 10th and Pennsylvania, 1882–92; and in the "Barbizon Studio" building, 1892–1903, on 17th and Pennsylvania. Had annual exhibitions and sales at V. G. Fischer Galleries. Retrospective at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1907. An *Indian Summer Day* purchased by friends for the old National Gallery of Art. Died July 6, 1914, in Washington, D. C.

Exhibiton of Oil Paintings by Max Weyl. Catalogue of an exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., November 30–December 11, 1907.
Glassie, Henry H. "The Washington Landscape School—Max Weyl and His Circle." Unpublished paper read before the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1980.
Greenberg, Evelyn Levow. "Max Weyl, Painter of Pre-Urban Washington." *The Record: Publication of the Jewish Historical Society of Greater Washington* 2 (January 1967): 16–21.

Williams, William George See Fig. 22; text, p. 54
Born January 1, 1801, in Philadelphia, Pa. Attended and was graduated from West Point, 1820–24. Accompanied General Lafayette on his

U. S. tour, 1824–25. Married America Peter of Tudor Place, Georgetown, D. C., 1826. During the years 1824–46, he was assigned various duties as topographical engineer, and at the same time exhibited frequently at the National Academy of Design. Surveyed Pea Patch Island, Delaware, 1834; Niagara Falls, 1835–36; went west, 1837; and surveyed Lake Erie, Buffalo, N. Y., 1838–45. Fought in the battle of Monterey, Mexico, with General Taylor, and was mortally wounded, 1846. Died September 21, 1846, in Monterey, Mexico.

"Williams, William George." *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Vol. 6, pp. 535–36.

Wood, Joseph See Fig. 4; text, p. 29
Born c. 1778 near Clarkstown, N. Y. In New York, c. 1793–1813. Apprenticed to a silversmith, 1793. Became a miniature painter, 1801. Studied with Edward G. Malbone. Formed a partnership with John Wesley Jarvis, 1802–10. In Philadelphia, 1813–16. Lived in Washington, D. C., 1816–30. Did drawings of models for the Patent Office. Ran an art school. Painted portraits of many distinguished people. Died June 15, 1830, in Washington, D. C.

Groce, George C., Jr., and J. T. Chase Willet. "Joseph Wood: A Brief Account of His Life and the First Catalogue of His Work." *Art Quarterly* 3 (Spring 1940): 149–61.

Other Washington Painters Mentioned in the Text

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Ahl, Henry Hammond, p. 221
Armor, Charles, p. 221
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Will Brown, photographer, Philadelphia: pl. II
Tom Carter, U.S. Department of the Interior Conservation Laboratory, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia: fig. 41
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Richard A. Stoner, photographer, Greensburg, Pennsylvania: fig. 60
Virginia State Library, Richmond: fig. 35
Richard York Galleries, New York City: fig. 98; pl. IV

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